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# The socio-cultural and historical foundations of Afro-American education.

Nancy Lazar Moore

*University of Massachusetts Amherst*

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THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS  
OF AFRO-AMERICAN EDUCATION

A dissertation Presented

By

Nancy Lazar Moore

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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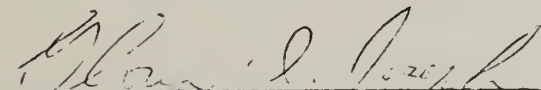
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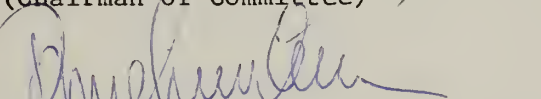
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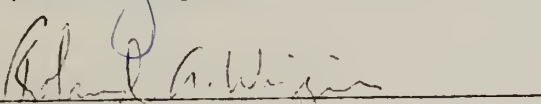
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Nancy Lazar Moore

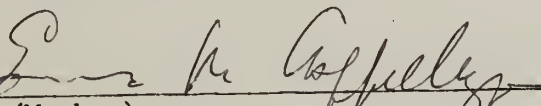
Approved as to style and content by:

  
(Chairman of Committee)

  
(Head of Department)

  
(Member)

Sidney Kaplan  
(Member)

  
(Member)

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## C O N T E N T S

Abstract

Introduction.....1 thru 9

Footnotes.....10

### I. A HISTORY OF INFERIOR EDUCATION

Perspective.....11 thru 14

The Betrayal of the Negro.....14 thru 22

Industrial Education.....22 thru 30

The Black College.....31 thru 40

Northern Migration.....41 thru 48

Miseducation.....48 thru 61

Footnotes.....62 thru 65

### II. SOME TRENDS RESULTING FROM THIS "EDUCATION"

Failure and Alienation.....66 thru 75

Rumblings in the Thirties and Forties.....75 thru 83

Ferment and Disillusionment.....83 thru 94

Compensatory Education.....94 thru 118

A New Mood.....118 thru 128

Footnotes.....129 thru 134

### III. THE RE-EVALUATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURE

Roots.....135 thru 143

The African Conception of the Universe.....143 thru 156

Coping with Racism and Oppression.....156 thru 168

The Normative Dimension of Formal Education.....168 thru 182

Culture and Education.....182 thru 199

Footnotes.....200 thru 203

#### IV. CULTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The Colonial Analogy.....	204 thru 211
Black Power and Pan-Africanism.....	211 thru 233
Ujamas: The Basis of African Socialism.....	233 thru 260
"Education for Self-Reliance" in Tanzania.....	260 thru 287
Footnotes.....	288 thru 287

#### V DIRECTIONS

Black Studies.....	293 thru 307
We Shall Overcome.....	307 thru 318
Teacher Training.....	318 thru 322
Implications for the Education of White Youth.....	323 thru 329
Footnotes.....	330 thru 331
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	332 thru 341

## A B S T R A C T

This dissertation is intended for use in teacher-training. Hopefully, it will assist teachers who are preparing to teach black children to acquire the historical background sociological and political awareness, and cultural perspective that they will need if they are to make a contribution to the development of the Afro-American child and his community.

The first chapter discusses the origins of Negro education in the South in a political and economic context, the industrial education movement, the black liberal arts colleges, the consequences of Northern migration, and the way in which curriculum content, specifically in history and literature, has reflected a distorted interpretation of Afro-American history and culture. The chapter, entitled "A History of Inferior Education", stresses the point that Carter G. Woodson made in the twenties - that the Negro has received a "mis-education", designed to perpetuate his subordinate status in American society.

The second chapter discusses some of the trends resulting from the experience of social oppression and inferior education. Many studies have investigated the cause of the high attrition rates we find among black school children. A major reason for academic failure and dropping out is the alienation felt by the Afro-American individual in a social institution that does not acknowledge his unique reality except to disparage it. The initiation of political and economic protest by the

Afro-American community in the thirties and forties was essentially a drive for equality in American society. The legal proceedings of the N.A.A.C.P. on the issue of desegregation in education were motivated by the desire to achieve "equal educational opportunities" for black children and to effect a change in the attitudes of white children toward their black fellow citizens. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 was the culmination of legalistic struggle and the following years were a time of ferment in black America as a new generation began to lose hope in the willingness of white America to create a just society. Compensatory education was a heavily funded detour to get around the issue of integrated schooling. The basic assumption of compensatory education is that there is something wrong with the black child, his home and his community, something pathological that makes him unable to learn. Therefore, the line of reasoning goes, the school must compensate for the deficiencies which the child brings with him to school and, if possible, the family must be modified or its effect on the child nullified. The black community has responded to this insulting doctrine with the movement for community control of the schools.

Educators are trained, informally and formally, within a particular cultural frame of reference. They see themselves, evaluate their students, and choose their teaching objectives and teaching strategies within the normative dimensions of the Euro-American cultural grouping dominant in American

society. If education is to enable black children, like other children, to develop their human potential and social effectiveness the educator will have to understand and identify with the cultural values, traditions, and aspirations of the Afro-American community. The third chapter of the dissertation therefore is entitled, "The Re-evaluation of Afro-American Culture".

The disillusionment that followed white America's resistance to integrated education has been transcended in the black community's thrust for "Black Power". The aim of Black Power is to build economic, political and social strength independently so as to enhance the black community's bargaining position in America. However, a development concomitant to a new emphasis on self-reliance in the above-mentioned spheres of life is a quest for self-definition. This is the subject of the fourth chapter, "Culture and Social Change". Young blacks are presently rejecting the impulse to board the powerful iron horse; they are pausing to ask themselves where the train is headed and if they really want to go there. Seeking alternative values and goals from the Afro-American cultural heritage and recognizing common ties binding the destiny of the ex-colonial states of Africa and the oppressed descendants of Africa in the Americas, Afro-Americans have begun to adopt a Pan-African political and cultural perspective. W.E.B. Du Bois, an Afro-American, planted the seeds for this development in America and in

Africa. Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, has worked to institute a system of education in Tanzania that will be appropriate for a nation that has chosen African Socialism as its way of life. His paper, "Education for Self-Reliance", is an important statement about the foundations of education in a society recovering from colonialism.

The last chapter, "Directions", includes a discussion of the social role of the educator, the black studies movement, and the concept of education for community service. A proposal for teacher training is set forth. A general statement on the implications of all of this for the education of white American youth concludes the last chapter of the dissertation.



## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Teachers have always been responsible for more than the transmission of intellectual tools in muscular fashion. Invariably, intellectual skills are related through and finally serve the exploration of ideas, values, and attitudes, which reflect the social, historical and philosophical forces that shape the direction of the educational program. Because the educator must be aware of the direction of the relationship between education and society, the study of socio-cultural foundations is a part of the training of teachers, counselors and administrators. Without such awareness, educators are left unprepared to critically evaluate the goals, means, and products of their endeavor.

A finer dimension of social awareness is to understand clearly that although we live in a pluralistic society the educational system is culturally shaped by values that synthesize into normative standards of what is considered desirable either by the dominant culture as a whole or by an influential sector of that culture. These values, concerning the structures, the dynamics, the directions of American society are not satisfactorily consistent with those values expressed in the traditions, history and culture of the Afro-American community. The major education philosophies which guide and interpret the culture; e.g., Essentialism, Perennialism, or Progressivism have not

been able to approach the problems of social order, process and goals<sup>1</sup> from outside the perimeter of the dominant Euro-American culture. None of these interpretations of the purpose of education involves the radical reconstruction of the culture which the domestic and international crisis of American society demands. None of these philosophies adequately complements the militant and confirmed commitment to the cultural revolution expressed, as an integral part, in the movement for Black Liberation. And just as most white Americans were bewildered at the gleeful dance of Third World delegates to the U.N. when Taiwan was voted out in spite of U. S. pressure techniques, modern education is bewildered by the demands of black students that education be "relevant" to the needs of the Afro-American community. One reason for the bewilderment lies in the failure of educators to deal with the normative dimension of educational institutions.

There are two ways of approaching the question of education for Afro-Americans. The first is to consider it within the context of the present social order. In this case we can talk about "compensatory" or "special" measures which will, supposedly improve the chances that black youth will survive intellectually and psychologically in the schools. The second way is to view the issue within a framework of realistic political, economic and social development. In this latter context the educational process must be seen as providing the skills and coordinating the resources for a program of sustained and collective change which is consistent with the historical experience, tra-



ditions, values, and present condition of the Afro-American people. This study will investigate the socio-cultural foundations upon which a constructive program of education for Afro-Americans can be built and will argue that education for Afro-Americans must be seen within a context of economic, political and social development for the black community which is consistent with these foundations.

Although several educators have questioned educational programs which reject the cultural integrity of the Afro-American heritage, we can still find educators who attribute the black student's lack of receptivity to imposed concepts of value, patterns of behavior, and perception of reality to racial inferiority. Hershovits, for example, said,

...When, for instance, one sees vast programs of Negro education undertaken without the slightest consideration being given to even the possibility of some retention of African habits of thought and speech that might influence the Negro's reception of the instruction thus offered, ...we can but wonder about the value of such work.<sup>2</sup>

Du Bois, by his scholarly example, and by declarative statement made it quite clear that blacks had "their own point of view." "They ought," he said, "to study intelligently and from their own point of view, the slave trade, slavery, emancipation, reconstruction, and present economic development."<sup>3</sup> Woodson wrote, in 1933, that black schools should not be a replica of white universities, never touching the life of the Negro and causing the educated to leave the masses, alienated from their thought

and aspirations, their community organizations, notably, the church, or causing them to become "malcontents with no program for changing the undesirable conditions about which they complain."<sup>4</sup> Other early writers such as Kelly Miller, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles S. Johnson, John W. Davis, Horace Mann Bond, Buell Gallagher, Doxey Wilkerson, and Kenneth Clark have clearly stated the need for education, in Frazier's words, to "make the Negro himself of first consideration."<sup>5</sup> Charles Thompson put it this way:

...While the general objectives of all education in this country are and should be the same, yet the social, political and economic conditions under which these objectives must be realized in the case of Negroes, are relatively so disadvantageous as to constitute an educational problem that cannot be left to incidental treatment.<sup>6</sup>

As an example of the neglect of such counsel is the conversation this writer had last summer with the chairman of an Educational Foundations Department at a major mid-western university. When asked if his department had a course in the foundations of Afro-American education he answered, "No, we talk about the race problem in our regular courses." When further questioned as to the use of materials by black educators such as Bond, Woodson, Du Bois, Johnson, Bullock, McPherson, etc., he replied, circumambulating the issue, "No, but we do have a man here of Negro descent who teaches about Latin American education." Somehow the issue became one of pigmentation rather than academic discipline!

Despite the fact that the idea of a thorough going sociological and cultural approach to educational problems is not new, there still exists a great deal of doubt in educational circles that the responsibility of education, as of all social agencies, is the task of social reconstruction. This ambivalence is characteristic of the status group of which these educators are constituents, a class which on the whole determines American values and governs American life. And then, while some educators agree that education should concern itself with the social process there is even more disagreement over the nature of the concern to be expressed. One attitude assumes that the school be an ivory tower of academic serenity and objectivity in a predatory world, and if the social drift is noticed it is merely observed and discussed, not challenged. Another puts vocational proficiency at the head of its list, subordinating long range ideas of social concern. A third, the "sociological approach to education" assumes that it is the purpose of the school to prepare the individual to adjust and accommodate to the demands of contemporary society.

Meanwhile, as the attitudes proliferate, black educators and students are less susceptible to such intellectual meanderings. Out of necessity they confront the problem head on how to make the education of black youth a constructive force in the struggle of the Afro-American community to liberate itself from a condition of vulnerability and dependence within a society that has consistently regarded it as a caste to be exploited for

the "peace and welfare" of the Euro-American majority. This paper is concerned with the societal and cultural goals of the Afro-American community and their implication for the school. With such a focus we will often be in implicit disagreement with standard interpretations of the political, economic and cultural possibilities of the Afro-American people, interpretations that define by a negating contrast.

A significant portion of the literature in the foundations of Afro-American education has been written by black educators. Even so, most of the literature that shapes public policy reflects an ethnocentrism and a class bias that distort the real problems which black students labor under in the schools. In spite of the repeated stress of certain black educators on the shortcomings of the school and the racist social environment which informs it, social scientists, psychologists, and educators have continued to develop theories which take the heat off of the social system and lay responsibility for poverty on the poor, for educational failure on the black child, his family, and his community.

We also find highly abstract works like that of Theodore Brameld's study in the cultural foundations of education.<sup>7</sup> Although we will no doubt find his concepts useful, he does not regard Afro-Americans in any light other than to mention their low status in the vertical ordering of American society. Other works interpret the school in American society as being a neutral learning agency. A few authors are more critical of the elitist, class basis of the schools,<sup>8</sup> especially since the study on assimilation by Milton Gordon in 1964<sup>9</sup> - a widely read study which convinced many liberal minds that plurality of culture is an indisputable fact



in America and nothing to get uplight about. The full implications of this fact have not yet been accepted, however. Fewer books really go into the schools' role in reinforcing the caste status of Afro-Americans. Most books, to play safe, mention the "negro" rather briefly as a "problem" minority facing "discrimination."<sup>10</sup>

There is not a great deal of literature on the role of the schools in social change although many anthologies present papers of differing views on certain current "issues" which hold some portent for education. One reason for this is the hesitancy of American educators to reckon with their own responsibilities as custodians of a powerful social institution. Committed to the status quo by heritage and position, many only view change as something one must do to conserve what is. With this attitude one cannot explore the concepts of cultural imperialism and cultural revolution, or for that matter, "world society", for their educational implications. We will investigate the educational philosophy in Tanzania, a country that has undergone a socialist and anti-colonial revolution.

Actually, there is a vast body of pertinent literature but it has not been synthesized. The bibliography titles indicate just how much material there is available. Most of it is generally classified as "Black Studies" material. More specifically there are items such as the following:

1. Contemporary accounts of the civil rights movement.
2. Statements of ideology and program by political leaders and scholars.

3. Articles presenting social and political analysis of educational problems.
4. Linguistic studies of non-standard English.
5. Anthropological studies of the Afro-American family and culture.
6. Literary criticism showing the portraiture of blacks by American authors.
7. Studies of Afro-American philosophy or "world view".
8. Historical treatises of slavery and the reconstruction.
9. Folklore.
10. Imaginative literature.

This is only a sampling of how diverse the literature is which is pertinent to the study. Other materials are economic, political, sociological, and literary studies which help to explain the experience of the country as a whole and of the Euro-American past and present in particular.

The methodology employed in this study will be historical and descriptive. Historical synthesis includes the problem of documentation, the logical problem of relative importance and arrangement of topics, and the theoretical problem of interpretation.<sup>11</sup> The sources used will be selected from the literature of several disciplines, including history, anthropology, political science, sociology and psychology, economics, comparative education and literature. The multidisciplinary character of source materials is called for by the scope of the area being investigated, that is, by the "socio-cultural foundations" of

Afro-American education. The objective of the organization will be to provide both a historical background and theoretical context for the understanding of a current educational problem. Topics and facts will be selected by the criterion that they illuminate the needs of the present.

In the preparation for this dissertation I have had the benefit of coursework taken in the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies and the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. I wish to thank my doctoral committee members, Dr. Gloria Joseph, Dr. Sidney Kaplan, and Dr. Roland Wiggins for sharing their knowledge and ideas with me. Dr. Daniel Jordan, Dr. Johnetta Coles, Professors Michael Thelwell, and Gerald Weinstein have also helped me to clarify my ideas. Special thanks to Dr. Wilfred Carty, Dr. Bernard Bell, and Dr. Jules Chametsky for their sustaining encouragement and critical comment. The heavy burden of typing the final manuscript has been carried with graciousness by my next door neighbor, Mrs. Michele Balk. My dear husband, Steve, has been a constant source of inspiration and support on all levels. And without the selfless generosity of my mother-in-law, Mrs. Debirdie Moore, who has lived with us to care for our little boy, Solomon, the dissertation could not have been written. I am also grateful to my father, Mr. Arthur Lazar, my father-in-law, Mr. Gerian Moore, and my brother-in-law and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Ellington Moore for their encouragement and sustaining support.

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## C H A P T E R I.

### A HISTORY OF INFERIOR EDUCATION

#### Perspective

The current racial crisis in American education did not appear suddenly one day in 1954 in the chambers of the Supreme Court or in 1965 with explosion of Watts. Ignorant of the historical dimensions of social activity we are blinded to the complex interweaving of institutions and arrangements. The normative dimension of educational institutions concerning the structures, dynamics and directions of American society remains unconscious. The fact that the educational system has reflected and reinforced the inferior status of black people in American society remains obscured.

Exhilarated and relieved by the promise of a "New Frontier" in the Kennedy administration and, though slightly damped, still enthusiastic with the Coming of the "Great Society" in the Johnson era, ironically in 1965 Americans seemed to have assumed that their traditional dream of being the land of liberty, freedom and justice for all men was about to be realized without the pain of acknowledging its historical contradiction. Undertaking the benevolent Americanization of the world - exemplified by the Asian preoccupation since World War II, the heavy handed political guidance offered to the "underdeveloped" and over-exploited countries of Africa and South America as well, and the many strings attached AID and

Peace Corps programs - the embarrassment of trying to help everyone become more "American", as in the Hellenistic and Roman ventures of old, while America itself was beset by poverty, disenfranchisement and racism has come home and forced the not so great society to confront its own dilemma with more candor and concern.

- In 1900 at the first Pan-African Conference organized by William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, he warned:

The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization.<sup>1</sup>

Three years later in his classic, The Souls of Black Folk, he repeated this same theme:

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.<sup>2</sup>

Inescapably, carried forward by the dialectical processes of conflict and synthesis, the American dilemma is brought into sharper focus and needs be reckoned with if America is to play a constructive role in the affairs of a world which has become a neighborhood. Despite Patrick Moynihan's advice to President Nixon that the way to reduce racial tensions is through a policy of "benign neglect", white Americans have become increasingly perplexed, anxious and frustrated as Afro-Americans become increasingly vociferous, militant and uncompromising.

No aspect of American life has escaped the ramifications of the oppression of black people. A thorough body of revisionist scholarship is emerging to reveal the distortions of the American character and the structural weaknesses which are the result of a history of rationalizing and defending the major inconsistency in American culture. Education, then, is just one front on which the power relations of white over black are being challenged by black people. It is, however, a strategic arena. The broad purpose of education is to transmit the acquired skills and knowledge of a civilization as well as to enculturate the young to its values. Conceived and operated by a dominant sector of the society, the essential social and political function of the public educational institutions has been to channel the talent and productivity of American youth into the service of a social order based on exploitation of non-white peoples. Moreover, it is in the schools that the dominant majority practices the psychological and intellectual manipulation of Afro-Americans, compulsorily indoctrinating them, for ten years or more, with the assumption that this is a culturally homogeneous society-a reciprocal community- with common expectations and aspirations. That just isn't so. The result is an educational experience which is not appropriate to the needs and interests of the black community, which attempts to impose definitions of social and political reality contradictory to the black experience, and which, in sum, is an ordeal of self denial for the black child.

History is to learn from. By mobilizing knowledge about the past we are enabled to recognize the appearance of new patterns and the diffusion or the restrictions of the old. A summary of the past implies a choice of crucial interpretative themes. This chapter will strongly emphasize the influence which economic patterns have had on the development of education for black people. This does not mean that political ideas and cultural attitudes are irrelevant to the discussion. Some ideas originating as instruments of economic policy gain a momentum of their own as they are jostled in the field of conflicting and shifting interests. Ideas may persist long after the social circumstances which shaped them are changed, behaving as independent variables in later times. And, in turn, existing ideas are altered by the appearance of new social trends. Examining the formative stages of American education for blacks, we shall stress the basic social causes for the prominence and resiliency of concepts that effect Afro-American education even to this day.

#### The Betrayal of the Negro

The effect of the Civil War was to shatter the very foundations of Southern society. In the confusion and the consequent quest for order which was the war's aftermath, the power relations between classes and castes gradually solidified in a form which bequeathed a discernible legacy in the twentieth century in both the South and the North. The war wiped out the small beginnings toward tax-supported education that had been made in the South. Yet, during the war Northern churches and



and missionary societies poured money and teachers into the South opening thousands of schools, at first to cope with the educational needs of the Negro refugees who flocked to the Union camps. In 1865 the Bureau for Freedman, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, known as the "Freedman's Bureau", was established by Congress to coordinate the relief of freedman through medical services, the supervision of labor contracts, the control of all confiscated and abandoned lands, and through the founding of schools. The Bureau, operating at first without appropriated funds, depended on the sale of confiscated lands, unclaimed bounties of Negro soldiers and other monies that were the spoils and chances of war time. By an act of 1866 the educational powers of the Bureau were enlarged and between 1865 and 1870 the Bureau met about one-half of the expenses of the schools, the rest being paid by benevolent associations and the freedman themselves.<sup>3</sup> The system thus created penetrated the whole South, although it only reached a small fraction of the Negro population. By 1870, when the Bureau's legal term of existence had ended, it had been instrumental in starting 4,239 schools with 9,307 teachers.<sup>4</sup> It also helped the benevolent and religious societies to establish Negro colleges. This was a remarkable accomplishment in view of the short life of the Bureau and the tremendous opposition to education for the Negro in the South.

Immediately following the war President Andrew Johnson had attempted to reconstruct the South on its old aristocratic foundations. The infamous "Black Codes" of many of the states

and their local governments were an expression of the prevailing sentiments of the former leaders of the Confederacy. They were designed to chain the ex-slave to a condition of serfdom and peonage. This trend was obstructed briefly when Congress took charge of Reconstruction in 1867 and adopted the 14th and 15th Amendments. Unpropertied whites and Negroes were given the ballot and co-operated with the new business interests in coalition state governments which then emerged. Poor whites were Republicans because of their traditional role as competitors of the slave system, not out of any love for Negroes. Both groups had been deprived of political power and education by the dominant plantation oligarchy. Whites worked with blacks, who had decisive electoral force in the Reconstruction governments protected by Federal guardship, just long enough to extend the franchise and jury service, to establish tax-supported free-school systems and other needed administrative and social reforms.

True emancipation of the Negro would have required furnishing the freedmen with a minimum of land and capital. This would have cost a price in compensation that the North was not willing to pay and already the nation owed a large debt. Southern whites, poor or prosperous, wanted to control the black vote for their own interests. Though divided by class interest they were united in regarding Negro voters and office holders as necessary evils. The black politicians found the coalition governments ridden with internal constraints but the

North was not willing to sanction black dominated governments with labor interests. In the first place the leadership of the South passed into the hands of the newer town merchant-businessmen who wanted to use the new voters and political machinery to support their own economic mastership. They had no desire to destroy the large plantations - the foundation of the old order. Rather, they would only profit if the prices of raw materials could be kept low, that is, if labor could be exploited for profit. Their interests, then, were low taxes, a cheap labor supply, government subsidies for levees, railroads and industry. This group of Southerners showed the Northern capitalists that together they could exploit both the black and white laborer - baiting the two against each other they could keep the price of raw products low, keep out labor unions, and build a new industrial South which would pay tremendous returns.<sup>5</sup> Industry in the North, vastly more developed and organized as a result of the War, stimulated by a growing transportation system on land and on sea, new supplies of raw material, and a surging immigration of laborers, consolidated into the great corporations that took control of the government by 1876, by making treaty with the bourgeois investors and skilled union labor after the Panic of 1873, and the West and the South. To the West it offered lower railway rates, made possible by combinations, wider markets and rising land values. The South offered the withdrawal of the national army and the restoration of

political control to property.<sup>6</sup> Big business deserted the Negro and the Klan came out in broad daylight to do its work.

By brute force and deliberate deception the South disenfranchised the Negro and used the thirty-three electoral votes, which the counting of the full black population gave to that section, in behalf of the interests of capital. The old planter class, the new Northern capitalist and the emerging Southern capitalist exploited the rivalry between black and white labor to manipulate the white labor vote as well as to degrade black labor. Together, black and white labor might have overwhelmed capital. The success of black politicians in legislating tax-supported social reform awakened the propertied class to the threat of black political power. And poor whites, watching the differences between themselves and poor blacks rapidly disappearing, became hysterical. The Klu Klux Klan, the White League, the Knights of the White Camellia and other secret societies operated by white property holders since the end of the War to intimidate black voters spread in influence among poor whites. Terrorism was the order of the day as black people were disarmed, whipped for trying to buy property or for asking for higher wages. Schools were burned down, churches and Republican meeting places were torched. Many thousands were murdered for political activity. Whites who continued to ally themselves with blacks were killed or maimed. And a "deliberate psychology of caste", to use Du Bois' phrase,



was build up throughout the South. All the ills of the region were blamed on black politicians. White merchants and landowners gave preference to white laborers over black laborers. The Federal government looked the other way as black and white Republicans were assassinated and forced out of office. A succession of Presidents, between 1877 and 1901, did virtually nothing to protect the rights granted to blacks by the 14th and 15th Amendments and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and McKinley were Republicans but like the Democrat Cleveland they had to support the Democratic South and facilitated the restoration of white supremacy in that region. It was asserted that black political power had only corrupted Southern government during the period of Black Reconstruction.<sup>7</sup>

Whites forged new chains, fashioned out of attitudes carried over from ante-bellum days, to hold the Negro "in his place" in spite of his nominal freedom. Excluded from the trade unions the Negro was pushed out of the skilled crafts he had acquired during slavery into the unskilled class of unorganized labor. Negroes when hired at all were on a definitely lower wage scale. Whites received a psychological wage in addition; blacks were expected to give servile deference to white men and women. Sharecropping, tenant farming and domestic service were the areas of employment most open to blacks. Frequently Negroes were used as strikebreakers, which served to increase the bitter antipathy which poorer whites felt toward blacks - an economic

rivalry beginning in slave times and continuing to the present. Taxation without representation or legal redress fell disproportionately on the poor, particularly on the black laborer. The racial propaganda used to justify the systematic disfranchisement, forced and underpaid labor, and social segregation of the black population impressed upon whites that the Negro was an inferior race. North and South collaborated in buttressing this assumption. Even the efforts of Northern philanthropy were permeated by a paternalistic dominance. These were, basically, the economic and political conditions which restricted the development of education for black people in the South and, with slight variations, held sway in the North too.

The schools founded under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau were taken over by the states as the Bureau was dismantled. One issue arose early and was debated in most of the Reconstruction legislatures - the issue of "mixed schooling". Integrated schools were proposed:

...by white idealists who believed that the separate school was undemocratic and that only in this manner could equal opportunities be afforded all children. Negroes who supported the movement cared less for the higher principles involved, but were practical enough to see that separate schools meant inferior schools. They wished to use mixed schools as a lever to obtain equality in efficiency.<sup>8</sup>

Integration of the schools, however, proved to be a difficult proposition to work out. In South Carolina, for example, mixed schools were established but either whites refused to

to attend or schools had segregated classes. In New Orleans black students seeking admittance to the only secondary school in the city at that time were driven away by a mob of white students.<sup>9</sup> The trustees of the Peabody Fund urged Congress not to pass the Civil Rights Bill and told Negroes that their interests would be better served by separate schools rather than aggravating racial tensions which would destroy the public system. Reverend Barnas Sears, General Agent of the Peabody Fund, assured a group of blacks in South Carolina that they had nothing to fear for the state would maintain equal systems for both races.<sup>10</sup> The irony is evident - in Bamberg County, S.C., the state, in 1932, expended \$178.00 on each white child as compared to \$8.00 on each black child enrolled in the public schools that year. When the conservatives came to power they decentralized authority and supervision. Segregated schools became mandatory\* but the colored schools were controlled by local white officials who decided how much should be spent on them, what should be taught and what textbooks used, and who should teach in them. The tax basis for education was cut drastically and most of the limited funds available went to the white schools. The school term was made short by the stipulations of contract family labor. So long as the Negro had no real political

\*The doctrine of "separate but equal" was not upheld by the United States Supreme Court until Plessy B. Ferguson, 1896.

power it was inevitable that private funds, such as that granted to the public systems by the Peabody Fund, and school taxes would be diverted by county officials to the white schools. The Negro, held to be unfit for the responsibilities of citizenship, was regarded by Southerners as ineducable beyond the rudiments of learning. Too much education, claimed the white supremacist, would only make him unfit for manual labor - the Negro's "natural" place in the political economy. Black people did not have the opportunity to challenge political disenfranchisement by Partisan organization until the rise of Populism in the South in the 1890's. Essentially, the brief coalition between small white farmers and blacks was as opportunistic as in the coalition during radical Reconstruction. Negro's responded enthusiastically to the People's party. Black and white candidates ran on official party tickets. Tom Watson told the Negro that white and black laborers and tenants must unite. But, by fraud, intimidation, violence and terrorism, the Populists' bid for political power was aborted. The conservatives won the election of 1896 and the Populists, utterly dismayed, used the Negro as a scapegoat for their failure to win. White Populists claimed that many who would have voted for their cause did not do so because they feared "Negro Domination".<sup>11</sup> Once again the Negro was betrayed.

#### Industrial Education

What saved the Negro public school, then, was not enlightened Southern co-operation, but rather the establishment



of Negro colleges by the contributions of Northern philanthropy. By 1879 there were eighty-four normal high schools and sixteen colleges, with over twelve thousand students.<sup>12</sup> They were at first founded as a concession to Southern hostility toward the white teacher in the Negro school. Despite their severe limitations they provided the black community with a corps of trained leadership that could not be forever squelched. However, without overlooking the fact that without these schools there would have been little higher education for Negroes, it is necessary to consider what manner of education was purveyed by them and some of the debates they weathered. Many of the issues raised with regard to the black institutions of higher learning foreshadow current racial controversies in the field of education.

There are several arguments which recur in white academics debates on Negro education. They constitute the rationalization of a dominant group, have their origins in the pro-slavery debates, and have served to reinforce the caste status of blacks in American society. First on the list, and least subtle of all attitudes, is that education for black people should be an instrument of social control "to keep the Negro in his place". Discrimination against black schools in terms of financing and facilities is an indication of a caste-patterned educational system. Then, there is the rationale for segregated education postulated on the assumption that black people are inferior to whites in mental capacity and educability. Howard W. Odum came to be the recognized authority of this notion. His book, Social and Mental Traits of

the Negro (1910), published by the Columbia University Press, locates the cause of the assumed inferiority in the "physical brain" of the Negro, which, at the age of fourteen "reaches its maturity, and nearly all that can be done for a generation must be done by methods suited to children."<sup>13</sup> Too much education for Negroes, according to this interpretation, is futile and wasteful. A third theory sees Negroes as morally inferior, made so by biological inheritance. Therefore, they must be given a certain kind of "moral" education to civilize them and make them fit for life in "moral" society. Alleged moral irresponsibility was used as a frame of reference within which to construct an appropriate education for this inferior race. Thus, G.C. Sumner, synthesizing earlier trends, proposed thirteen objectives of an educational program specially designed for Negroes: (1) physical well-being; (2) simplicity in living; (3) "a reverence and belief in the reality of a higher power ever present to assist one in a righteous cause"; (4) "fondness for literature, art, and music of a cultural trend"; (5) industriousness; (6) contempt for loud talking and laughing, and for public ostentation and swaggering in trains, street cars and other public places; (7) thrift; (8) honesty and absolute trustworthiness; (9) courtesy and friendliness; (10) "respect for hard-won sexual morality"; (11) race pride; (12) contempt for gossip and backbiting and chattering; (13) punctuality. These objectives and the frenetic use of soap and water were to be achieved by rigorous discipline on the part of parents and teachers, compulsory courses in

in ethics, and religion.<sup>14</sup> It was assumed that when Negroes became "fit" they would be permitted to culturally assimilate with whites.

The great detour made to rationalize the segregated system was the movement for Negro industrial education. Among others a legitimate educational goal, when involved with political issues, the attempt to make all higher education for the Negro industrial became an assault on the black college which almost undermined it. The position in favor of "industrial" education was that it would make the Negro a better workman "in his place", that is within the lower economic brackets, raising his living standards without affecting his status. "Let down your buckets where you are", the famous slogan of industrial education's black proponent, Dr. Booker T. Washington, implied recognition of the caste system as an inevitable condition of social and economic life in the South. In fact, Washington simply brought to a climax a trend which was gaining currency well before the middle 1890's, when he gained national eminence. Increasingly, as disenfranchisement grew Negroes, in particular a rising middle class, placed more emphasis on economic development and group solidarity than on political activity, economic improvement being regarded as an indirect technique for achieving political rights. For blacks industrial education was seen as a means to help them rise in the society, while others viewed it as a type of education which would help Negroes adjust to their subordinate role as a docile labor force. Booker T. Washington,

the protege of Samuel Armstrong at Hampton Institute, was able to take the concept, together with a Puritan, laissez faire, gospel of wealth philosophy, and make it acceptable to Northern industrialists and philanthropists as well as Southern conservatives, who were attracted by his vagueness on ultimate goals and his seeming renunciation of full citizenship rights for the present foreseeable future.

Washington's emphasis on the Negro's faults rather than his grievances and the need for him to raise himself "by his own bootstraps" both morally and economically eased any pangs of guilt that whites, who had no genuine belief in racial equality, might feel. And to the black who depended on the Negro community for his livelihood - professionals, clergy, leaders and supporters of the fraternal enterprises - Washington's message of self-help and racial solidarity made common sense, while they assumed that his conciliatory tone was a device to placate the South.

The policy of the million dollar John F. Slater Fund, established in 1882 by the textile manufacturer of Norwich, Connecticut, was influential in the direction of industrial and agricultural training. By 1886 there were few schools which did not give instruction in trades and other manual occupations a place in the curriculum. Many of these schools paid lip-service to the idea in order to attract funds - to institute an effective program would have been too expensive while the funds were needed for ordinary operating expenses. A few developed very elaborate programs. White



denominational boards and, in a few cases, the states as well as the Negro church boards joined the Slater Fund trustees in contributing to this development. Then, as a result of the second land-grant college act, after 1890 state industrial schools for Negroes were established throughout the South. The Slater Fund adopted a new policy, giving priority to only a few of the forty schools it had donated to heavily. By 1901 over half of the money allocated was granted to Hampton and Tuskegee, nearly destroying industrial programs in other private institutions and weakening their college preparatory programs as well. Booker T. Washington wielded an enormous influence in appropriations made by the philanthropists; contributors sought his advice on the recipients of funds. Besides the Slater Fund, he channeled Carnegie, Rosenwald, the General Education Board, Phelps-Stokes and Jeanes appropriations into the schools by his endorsement.<sup>15</sup> This trend continued long after the influence of Washington waned. Rural training schools on the post-secondary, secondary and elementary level were built to prepare young Negroes for "a better rural life" and the South's fears that the education given would lead to social equality were reduced by placing supervision of the work in the hands of white school officials.

Industrial education did succeed in attracting needed support to education for black people, but as an educational philosophy it was sorely inadequate. It proved to be an ex-

periment supported by Northern industrialists to reduce the lure for Northern migration and create a stable and plentiful supply of cheap labor in the South. Moreover, this "special education" was very expensive and too few were really prepared to foot the bill. Most industrial programs were therefore on the handicraft stage of production. And when important skills were imparted the opportunity to employ them was limited. After Emancipation poor whites had supplanted blacks as skilled artisans and prevented them from acquiring mechanical skills by excluding them from apprenticeship and the emerging craft unions. Frazier describes the emphasis of this type of education:

...the schools of so-called "industrial" education were supposed to instill in their students a spirit of humility and an acceptance of their inferior status. Moreover, no teacher in a school of industrial education could mention the existence of labor unions. The emphasis of this education was supposed to be on the "heart and the hand" rather than the head because southern white people did not want the Negro's head to be educated.<sup>16</sup>

The caste assumptions of industrial education have a more contemporary manifestation in the "tracking" system found in many urban high schools, North and South.

W. E. B. Du Bois, John Hope - president of Atlanta Baptist College - Francis Grimke and others opposed the monopoly of funding which Washington held, as well as the dictatorial powers he had over black political appointments, government policy affecting the race, and organizations in the Negro community. The Niagra Movement had a distinct "anti-Bookerite"

thrust, designed to counter the predominance of "the Tuskegee Machine". Du Bois and the other "radicals" attacked Washington's educational philosophy not because he objected to training blacks for industry, but because he recognized that the compromise of interests which had nourished the concept involved the entire status of the Negro in American life. Du Bois wrote on the issue:

I would not deny, or for a moment seem to deny, the paramount necessity of teaching the Negro to work, and to work steadily and skillfully; or seem to depreciate in the slightest degree the important part industrial schools must play in the accomplishment of these ends, but I do say, and insist upon it, that it is industrialism drunk with its vision of success, to imagine that its own work can be accomplished without providing for the training of broadly cultured men and women to teach its own teachers, and to teach the teachers of the public schools.<sup>17</sup>

Du Bois criticized the overemphasis of industrial schools on practical matters, stating that this was important but insufficient. He felt that Washington belittled the emasculating effects of caste distinction and of accepting the racist contention that the Negro's lowly condition justified the South's attitude. Furthermore, he did not disagree on the need for economic solidarity but did perceive a paradox in trying to make Negro workers "captains of industry, businessmen and property owners when they could not defend their interests without the ballot. Individuals might accumulate property and become educated but still be persecuted. Segregation, he charged, was not mere separation, and was not intended to be equal; segregation was subordination. He pointed out, defending the liberal

arts institutions, that the major part of the teaching force of the Negro common schools and of industrial schools like Tuskegee were college educated. On these issues and others Washington and Du Bois disagreed. The demanding political climate of the times, the prestige and power of Washington, and the policies of the philanthropic foundations encouraged a great number of the Negro intelligentsia to support Washington publically even if they held sentiments akin to those of Du Bois. A very few, like Kelly Miller, were able to work successfully and consistently with both the Washington group and the protest organizations, the N.A.A.C.P. - founded in 1910 - and the Urban League. Until Washington's death, in 1915, removed him entirely from the power structure the two orbits of leadership expended much energy attacking each other. As early as 1902, Washington, afraid for his personal influence, went so far as to plant spies in meetings of his critics, attempted to deprive opponents of their jobs, and subsidized the Negro press to ignore or attack the opposition.<sup>18</sup>

Important as the philanthropic contributions were to the development of Negro schools, a dilemma which would appear again and again in the struggle for political, social and economic opportunity arose concerning the "strings attached" to such support and its effects on the black community. Two questions are posed: How much compromise is philanthropy worth? How can black leadership avoid becoming divided over the crumbs and plums of governmental or philanthropic largess?



## The Black College

Thus, interest was diverted to industrial training for black people in the formative years of Negro education. For reasons described above most industrial programs were weak and the movement ultimately expired. Also, increasing technology made black labor less vital to the economy of the South. The needs of a segregated group, moreover, called for the training of teachers, ministers, doctors, dentists, and other professionals requiring college preparation. White schools wouldn't accept black students - even the Northern universities took very small numbers - and not more than a hand full of black scholars held regular positions in white colleges through 1938.<sup>19</sup> The black college became a very important institution in the life of the black community. Always short of funds, the bastard child of the academic community, the black college is remarkable for having survived to produce many great talents in all walks of life. Its staff overworked and underpaid, envired by hostile white communities exerting political and social repression, the black college has had to do miracles with nothing. Ultimate control of the institutions and money has been kept from Negro hands. To allay the suspicions of Southern whites the philanthropic foundations at first appointed state agents, under Southern legislative supervision, to administer Northern money. Even the Federal land-grant funds have been distributed inequitably. In the first decade of the Morrill Act of 1890, in the seventeen states with separate land-grant colleges for whites and Negroes



\$13,360,598 had gone to white institutions as compared to \$504,767 to the Negro schools.<sup>20</sup> This discrimination has continued into the present.

Contemporary critics of the black college, specifically Christopher Jencks and David Riesman facilely labeled the Negro college an "academic disaster area", using criteria of judgement that apply within the halls of Harvard, Oberlin and Berkely.<sup>21</sup> The three basic questions asked are how many Negro teachers have Ph.D.'s from "national universities", how many go to meetings of learned societies, and how many are published in the professional journals. These insensitive critics overlook the fact that blacks were excluded from white Southern graduate schools, that black graduate schools have only recently been able to develop Ph.D. programs - and these are few in number - and that the exclusion and quota policies in Northern universities offered only limited access to black scholars. Negro scholars have been excluded from professional meetings as well, even when they have taken place in localities financially accessible, and white journals and publishing houses, until recently, have rejected some of the most valuable research written by blacks. In response Negroes have organized their own societies and journals, but Jencks and Reissman do not regard these in their discussion. Without the benefit of subsidy, research facilities, leisure, promotion, publication, or outside contacts and contracts, the black college and its scholars have contributed greatly to the arts, sciences, and professions. The Northern missionaries who

founded and staffed the colleges were ostracised severely by Southern white communities. In several cases violence and burnings occurred and a few whites were lynched. Under extraordinary stress they often reacted by maintaining "an almost prison-like surveillance" over the students, most of whom, in the early days, were hand-picked and light skinned. Playing into the hands of Southern racists, the schools often had as their chief aim "Christianization and moral training, "designed to wean them from the religious emotionalism of the Negro".<sup>22</sup> Charles S. Johnson writes one of the more sympathetic accounts of the early schools but has the following to say about their atmosphere:

Observance of religious forms was enforced. Association of the sexes was rigidly observed. Smoking, drinking, swearing and any behavior "unbecoming a gentlemen or a lady" were condemned and punished with such vehemence as to give them the unforgettable stamp of sin. Every teacher felt personally responsible for the conduct of the students. In most places there were preceptresses or matrons who were both respected and feared.

Social functions lost their memory of abandoned gaiety under the surveillance of a fretfully observant lady of the faculty. At meal time one of these ladies observed the etiquette, "heard with keen ears and censored each remark that unwittingly lapsed into the broad animal freedom of the quarters". This moral surveillance, as intimate and unescapable as conscience, stalked dormitory halls at all hours of the night, inspected mail, investigated, lectured, warned, punished guilt and rewarded virtue.<sup>23</sup>

The schools taken over by the state governments and those founded by them with land-grant money usually presented a facade of black control by having a black president and

mostly black faculty. The real struggle against white paternalism took place in the private colleges established and supported by Northern whites, for it was in the private schools that blacks could possibly have a degree of autonomy. Most of the religious agencies were hesitant about giving Negroes control of money that flowed from Northern constituencies. Even the Baptist and Methodist societies, which unlike the AMA had large black memberships in their denominations, had Northern whites occupying the major administrative posts; Negroes were represented on the local boards of trustees of most schools but these usually had little power to affect policy. Many schools did concede to demands for more black faculty, but at the turn of the century, ninety percent of these were teaching in the elementary departments rather than on the secondary or college level of the institutions.<sup>24</sup> (About thirty percent of the teachers were black in 1895). The major reason given at the time was that educational quality would suffer if Negro teachers were employed too soon. Many Negro parents even considered white teachers superior to black teachers. With regard to control of the schools, some missionaries no doubt shared the widespread conviction that Negroes lacked organizational and executive skills. The basic problem was that most trustees, black and white, felt that only a prominent white man with administrative experience would be able to tap the springs of Northern philanthropy. Religious commitment did not supercede the distinction of color; according to a president of Claflin University, a Methodist school,



it was not "wrong for them to aspire to teach their own schools and manage their own schools and manage their own concerns, but unfortunately not one in 1,000 has enough executive ability to manage the concerns of his household successfully. It is not really their fault, as they have had but little experience in independent management." He said, "until they furnish a considerable portion of the funds necessary to conduct the school, they should be content to all others to manage it".<sup>25</sup>

In the first decade of the twentieth century all the mission societies rapidly increased the ratio of Negro faculty and administration, partly to reduce the intensity of "black power" pressure. The failure of Reconstruction and the iron wall of Jim Crow frustrated the ambitions of educated blacks and focused their strivings on the school and the church, two institutions that offered some access to power. Moreover, with the increasing professionalism and secularism in American education missionary zeal counted for less than credentials and teaching qualifications. Whites began to come who were motivated by securing a job rather than by a genuine humanitarian commitment, these were often discards from Northern colleges. Others attached a stigma to teaching in a black school. Kingman Brewster, the president of Yale, in answer to questions after a speech at Princeton in 1965, explained why, in his opinion, scholars at major white universities could not be expected to aid Negro colleges:

White academic were suitably concerned with the plight of those colleges, he said, but they could not afford to dislocate their own careers by active involvement. Even a year spent teaching at a Negro college would mean a serious loss of time, time important to research and publication and to the struggle for promotion and preferred classes. Negro professors would of course be welcome as students at the universities, Brewster added, but he understood that few would be able to give up their incomes and responsibilities to come.<sup>26</sup>

Thus a decline of willing and able white teachers may have been another reason that the missions hired more black teachers and administrators. The societies, nevertheless, maintained a close supervision over funds and general policy.

Industrial education was an attempt to "keep the Negro in his place" by focusing his attention on the dollar while laws and restrictions were created to make sure he could make or enjoy that dollar. As a form of "special education" for the Negro it was justified primarily by academic writers and politicians who stressed the Negro's inferior intellect and morality. This type of education was intended to lead toward "the unquestioning acceptance of the fact that he is a different race from the white, and properly so; that it always has been and always will be; that it is not a discredit not to be able to do as the white...while the negro child is interested in his own matters he will not be incited to wish for the white man's conditions of life or for his nature".<sup>27</sup> Education for Negroes was to be simple, practical and non-political, the Negro was to be "trained for usefulness". The liberal arts institutions, though founded by Yankee idealism, to a significant degree went off on another detour in the



opposite direction. The classical curricula was more tenacious in the black college than it was in the New England colleges where it first held sway. Encouraged in this direction by the New England missionary teachers, freedmen often had a pathetic faith in the master's education as the lever of racial progress.<sup>28</sup> It was a very short step from saying that Negroes were not inferior and should have equal educational opportunities to the insistence that schools for Negroes should be exactly like the best colleges for whites. Anything else implied inferiority. So Augustus Field Beard characterized the early aims of the American Missionary Association in his Crusade of Brotherhood, published in 1909:

The prophetic men who were directing the Association believed that what experience had proved to be wise and efficient influences for Christianizing and civilizing white people ought to be equally good for black people. Indeed, the evidence already gone before them seemed to justify this judgement. The Association had gone far enough to confirm the opinion that the black people could be enlarged in thought and mind by the same influences and methods of discipline which had proved their power in other peoples; this much against the opinions of Southern people, who held for the most part to the essential incapacity of their former slaves for anything beyond elementary improvement.<sup>29</sup>

For this reason and for an even more compelling reason innovation was frowned upon and Negro colleges were accredited on exactly the same standards that were used for white colleges of the South, standards that had become an anachronism in the Northern universities by the First World War.

As racism hardened throughout the nation, and it must be remembered that the Supreme Court of the land had determined that Negroes were not protected by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments or by later civil rights legislation, texts with a narrowly "Southern" slant became everywhere available and other texts simply ignored the question of civil rights for Negroes. The curricula "did not take the Negro into consideration except to condemn or pity him".<sup>30</sup> In this as in equally effective and more direct ways the politicians obtained cooperation in their efforts to keep the colleges isolated and indoctrinated. Laws were passed to prohibit co-education of blacks and whites in the college charters. Staff at even the private schools were placed in check by the arbitrary authority exercised by state boards of education which could revoke charters, refuse to certify the graduates of a college to teach, deprive the college of state accreditation if the wayward staff were not fired, or students dismissed. The local white communities made certain that black faculty and students remained as unpolitical outside of the classroom as they were expected to be in the classroom. The study of the social sciences was considered to be too progressive; sociology, politics and economics were particularly suspected of causing unrest. The efforts of W. E. B. Du Bois in this area are revealing.

Recalled in 1934 by President Hope of Atlanta University to be the Chairman of the Sociology Department, Du Bois sought to revive the old Atlanta University conferences and

studies of black problems. He had inaugurated his sociological studies of the Negro in 1897 which resulted in the Atlanta University Publications, but Atlanta gradually lost the support of northern philanthropy-partially due to the embarrassment of his presence - with the upsurge of industrial education. He finally left in 1910 to work with the N.A.A.C.P., which he helped to found. In 1934 his idea was that the black colleges, both private and land-grant, would be ideal centers of "social studies" on matters touching the condition of the people for whose benefit the schools were said to exist. Also, blacks formed over a fifth of the population in the southern states at that time but the Negro land-grant colleges received only five per cent of the federal money for the region. He hoped his studies might be the basis for demanding a larger share of the money.<sup>31</sup> In Chicago, in 1941, he presented a plan to the annual conference of the presidents of Negro land-grant colleges.

The plan sought to implement a scientific and continuous study of the Negro condition through a co-operative, integrated and co-ordinated program of cross-disciplinary research to be carried out by all of the Negro institutions. Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta would serve as the centers of guidance and integration of data. His basic assumption was that:

The college today... must do more-far more-than prepare men for jobs at present in demand and socially needful. The college must anticipate the future needs of the community and prepare education to meet them.<sup>32</sup>

He thought that the chief research studies of the Negro's condition should be done by black people, under the control of an association of Negro colleges "in order to make sure that the whole undistorted picture is there and that the complete interpretation is made by those most competent to do it, through their lives and training".<sup>33</sup> Under the leadership of these same colleges he hoped that the communities would proceed to utilize the research and the researchers by undertaking projects of development and improvement.

The presidents of twenty Negro land-grant colleges as well as of Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard signed a general plan and Dr. Du Bois was designated the official coordinator in 1942. A second conference was set for the spring of 1944. Then came the "catastrophe", as Du Bois called it. "At the moment of triumph of this carefully thoughtout and carefully planned scheme..." he was retired from his professorship, without any notice, by the new president. The whole scheme died within a year or two for lack of funds and waning enthusiasm, for DuBois' dismissal was not lost on others. Sociology - without funds, co-ordination and encouragement "was by passed and reduced to social work", in the black colleges, Du Bois said regretfully.<sup>34</sup> The study of the Negro passed into the hands of white scholars with accelerated speed as funds became available for research in this area after World War II. In these hands the heroic struggle of black people to survive oppression in daily life often was portrayed as pathological.



### Northern Migration

In spite of the efforts of Fredrick Douglass and, later, Booker T. Washington to encourage black people not to migrate North after the disappointments of Reconstruction, many did. The first tendency after Emancipation was to migrate to the western lands, especially Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska and Oklahoma, where lands could be purchased with some assistance from the Freedman's Relief Association and the Homestead Act. Many farmers could not buy equipment, however. As greater numbers began to migrate the whites and even Indians grew alarmed at the influx and began to meet the settlers with hostility. Perhaps over 100,000 Negroes were involved in the westward "Exodus" following the Compromise of 1876. A steady migration to the North continued but it was not until just after World War I that mass exodus to the cities of the North and Northeast reversed the direction of the general trend to the West and Southwest. Throughout the period many of the politically experienced, the educated, and skilled left for the urban areas of the South as well as the North, while the Westward movement was largely based on the ambitions of Negro farmers. The urban migrants established businesses which lost white clientele as the segregated residential areas began to develop with the influx of Southern migrants.<sup>35</sup> The result was a Negro market which Negro businessmen could exploit. Both Booker T. Washington, who founded the National Negro Business League, and Du Bois, by means of the Atlanta University Conference



on Negro Business in 1899, encouraged the support of black businessmen by the community. In 1911 the National Urban League was founded to assist the new urban settlers to find work and living conditions. The major studies of the migrations after Woodson's A Century of Negro Migrations and Frazier's The Negro in the United States are the works of Du Bois, (The Philadelphia Negro), James Weldon Johnson (Black Manhattan), and St. Clair Drake and Horace Clayton (Black Metropolis).

Fleeing from the abridgement of political rights, low wages, the crop-lien system and terrorism, millions of blacks have made the trek north. Over half of the Negro population is now located outside the Southern states. The shortage of white industrial manpower during the First and Second World Wars, the boll weevil, depleted land, the mechanization of agriculture, and higher social and economic aspirations on the part of unskilled laborers and country farm workers were the chief motivations for migration. Before the First World War some migrants might have found life relatively integrated with whites, but most Negroes found themselves in overcrowded, deteriorated sections that were becoming increasingly segregated as their size increased. Residential segregation was accompanied by school segregation - de facto, for it was not legally sanctioned or was legally forbidden in twenty-six states outside the South.<sup>36</sup> For most the move to the city of the North has held disillusionment. Negro entrepreneurs have had to compete with economically more power-

ful white businesses, many of which have capitalized off of the migration. Whites have control over the basic industrial and credit facilities and have owned most of the real estate in the expanding "ghettoes". The Negro masses have had white employers. Thus, what Drake and Cayton in their study of Chicago described as the "Dream of a Black Metropolis", where Negroes would support their own business and professional class and elect members of the race to high political office, had its limitations.<sup>37</sup>

The accumulation of wealth and education, the philosophy of group solidarity, self-reliance and race pride and the development of an entrepreneurial and professional class that felt it was entitled to the rights that Washington said would be the fulfillment of these accomplishments, all contributed to a cultural flowering, most manifest in Harlem - the spiritual stomping grounds of the black intellectual. Essentially a middle class movement, the Renaissance emphasized the existence of a "New Negro", a concept which had roots in the literary and artistic strivings before the War (in particular in the writings of Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson), but which gained a "take off" acceleration from the above mentioned factors as well as the fact that black soldiers and civilians had supported the war that was to make the world safe for democracy only to encounter the violence of white mobs in the cities of America. Race-consciousness and pride, social, economic and political protest infused much of the writing of the Renaissance. Some, like Langston Hughes, sought

to shake off the stereotyping that the pastoral minstrel tradition imposed on Negro poetry and to create new forms which could express the distinctiveness of the black experience in an urban environment. The masses of black people, however, were uninvolved in the Harlem Renaissance. They supported the Garvey Movement, a movement which thoroughly expresses the disappointment that lower-class Negroes felt after migrating to the North and finding bad housing, economic discrimination from employers and labor unions, and white bigotry there as well. Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association captured the imagination of hundreds of thousand of black people, as the N.A.A.C.P. was unable to do despite its vigorous efforts. He said that it was futile to appeal to the white man's sense of justice and hollow principles; the only hope was to return to Africa and build up a country of their own. He stressed the strength and beauty of being black and the nobility of the African past. Imprisoned for fraudulent use of funds and then deported in 1927, the Garveyite Movement died down. It was not long before the Great Depression ensued and, as always, blacks were the first to be laid off and "even in starvation there was discrimination".<sup>38</sup> Negroes were excluded from the soup kitchens of some charitable organizations and received less aid from public assistance than was given to white families.

The picture, then, wasn't all rosy for the millions that poured into the cities and kept coming. Restrictive covenants hemmed the burgeoning ghettos in as Negroes settled

in the only places they could find to live - mostly the deteriorated sections that wave after wave of European immigrants had already passed through. Afraid that property values would be lowered by the presence of blacks in the neighborhood, the remaining whites went suburban in a panic that did cause property values to lower if they were not already do to the age of the buildings. The neglect of absentee white landlords to upkeep and repair property and discriminatory application of the city services in black neighborhoods contributed to making living unhealthful and sometimes downright dangerous for ghetto dwellers. Unemployment, underemployment and demeaning employment in cities that had welcomed the poor of Europe intensified the strain of dislocation, poor living conditions and high prices. The hostility of the cities toward the black migrants was reflected in the educational system. So many black parents had hoped to give their children "an education" which to them meant a chance in life. And yet, as the lines were drawn and de facto segregation solidified, the quality of the schools suffered. Just as the South's "separate but equal" became "separate and inferior" or "separate and subordinate" so the white school boards managed to create a double standard for the educational system, one standard for whites and one for blacks. One hundred and twenty years ago, Horace Mann called education "the great equalizer of the conditions of men...the balance wheel of the social machinery". This has not proven to be the case for



black children. Rather, education for black people has been inferior, in both the North and the South, with gross inequalities in funding and opportunity, reflecting and helping to perpetuate the inferior social, economic and political status of the Negro in American life. And, the inferior caste status of the Negro is by no means an accident.

In fact, as Charles Silberman points out in his Carnegie Study, Crisis in the Classroom, the schools have served the poor badly and have always been controlled by the middle-class or upper middle-class. Coercion, rigid rules, customs and traditions, ridicule, condescension, and scolding have been the means by which public education was to fulfill its purpose, that being "to give the lower classes the habits of obedience and submission necessary for public peace, a docile labor force, and the protection of property".<sup>39</sup> This bias has not only been present in the schools of the South, where education for Negroes was explicitly rationalized as a means to preserve the status quo, but it has been the animus of education for the heterogeneous poor of the cities. The role that education has played in the upward social and economic mobility of most immigrant groups in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries has been greatly exaggerated. For the Irish, the Polish, the Slavics and the Italians, politics, business and the organized rackets were more important than schooling was in achieving middle-class status. Education for the immigrant working-class resulted in estrangement from the school because of the insistence by teachers and admini-



strators that all of the adjustment be on the students' part. Elitist in origin, American schools used a curriculum and instructional methods that were developed to educate the European aristocracy. Educators trained in this tradition, though possibly of lower middle-class status themselves, tended to suppress the educational aspirations of children from lower-class homes. Dr. Leonard Covello, an Italo-American educator, described his experience as a student at the turn of the century. the punishments, the Silence, the constant drilling and memorizing, the rituals and the utter neglect of the Italian language and heritage made school a place of fear and self-depreciation. "We soon got the idea that "Italian meant something inferior, and a barrier was erected between children of Italian origin and their parents. This was the accepted process of Americanization. We were becoming Americans by learning how to be ashamed of our parents".<sup>40</sup>

The difficulties of adjustment that European migrants have encountered in the cities should not be depreciated, but they were attached to a class status, not a caste as well as class status. Being white has its value in American society. The Negro, on the other hand, has been excluded from the swelling prosperity of the nation as a whole. The real income of Negroes, relative to the gains made by whites, has gone down since 1940. Whites have moved up the economic ladder by excluding Negroes from the competition, from the unions and from the better paying jobs. "Negro jobs" are set aside

by employers - these are jobs with menial status, minimum wages and very little security. Even in the professions that require academic achievement blacks have received a substantially lower wage and salary than whites of equal training and ability. These factors have been discouraging to black youth and the more recent trend to reject anyone lacking a high school or college diploma particularly works to screen out blacks as well as Indian Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans from decent jobs even though the credential may have little to do with the person's competence on the job. These groups have always received the worst that the educational system has to offer. Education, unlike before World War I, is becoming the gateway to affluence and social position even for whites, thus politicizing the educational institutions.<sup>41</sup> The labor surplus of the 1950's and early sixties made the diploma a prerequisite for employment. The importance of education since the last World War has not been lost on black people, who are profoundly disappointed with the poor quality of education they have received from the public schools.

#### Miseducation

Schools are the product and the interpreter of the social establishment that has segregated and oppressed Afro-Americans and, being such, what is taught in them represents this reality. Curricula may embody an attempt to "dissolve history and obscure reality"<sup>42</sup> and for this reason it is imperative that educators be self-conscious about the economic

political, social and cultural forces that structure the ideas conveyed in the classroom. History and literature are two conventional subjects in which a distorted perception and interpretation of American culture and the black experience has been most conspicuous. Taciturn about such themes as racism, imperialism and corporate monopoly, American Studies and Literature cloak the fact that capitalism rests on exploitation and social inequality with the myths of social progress, democratic idealism and equal opportunity. Much of what professes to be objective historical scholarship or neutral literary criticism is biased by its very neglect of social forces and rests upon illusions that are sanctioned by academic consensus. Scholars are not a priori detached; they are gainfully employed - most gainfully at institutions which are most contracted with by industry and government defense agencies - and although writers may not have to meet a doctrinal test to receive their pay checks they may be conditioned to avoid criticisms of the social order from which they reap profits and privileges. Acquiescing in the order and routine of things as they are may incline one to lend justification to the status quo rather than to challenge the basis on which the order, and one's personal affluence, stands.<sup>43</sup> Although this explanation may be a bit too narrow and gross, an important body of literature does exist which shows the relationship between criteria of validity and truth and social factors such as the social position of the thinker, the context, office and outcome of a

type of inquiry, or the cultural determination of what is taken as problematic, what concepts are available and what is perceived.<sup>44</sup>

Carter G. Woodson, the "father of Black History", played a pivotal role in encouraging scholars to re-examine the racial bias in historical writing. With the founding, in 1915, of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Woodson created an ideological base for black scholars during the germinal literary revolt of the twenties and his work is a direct antecedent of the Black Studies programs being instituted today. The Journal of Negro History, a quarterly publication of the Association, has come out regularly for fifty odd years and it is a storehouse of important work by black and white scholars, however neglected as a reference in most historical scholarships. What Woodson saw was that racism in history, reflected in the promotion of false beliefs about black people, reinforces notions of their "superiorty" among whites and notions of their "inferiority" among the people of color. In 1919 Woodson published The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, an account of the "successful strivings of Negroes for enlightenment under the most adverse circumstances" in both North and South.<sup>45</sup> This book, like all of his work, challenged distorted doctrines like the one promoted by Shaler, an ex-Southerner who had served in the Union army. Shaler wrote in 1870, in the Atlantic Monthly:



The school has its place in civilization...but it is the last step in the development of a race, not the first, and its value consists in the fact that it is the final result of the education of a thousand years of effort; and when we undertake to civilize a race as foreign to us in every trait as the Negroes, by imposing on them this final product of our national growth, we wrong ourselves and them.<sup>46</sup>

In 1933 Woodson came out with The Miseducation of the Negro, a critique of the educational system as it failed to present an authentic education for black people. The study has direct implications for today's consideration. Woodson believed with Du Bois that the educational system, propagandized and indoctrinated black youth, draining them of self-confidence, self respect, and self knowledge. He took the position that opportunity of education

should not be determined from without by forces set to direct the prescribed element in a way to redound solely to the good of others by should be determined by the make-up of the Negro himself and by what his environment requires of him.<sup>47</sup>

He said that "the race will free itself from exploiters just as soon as it decides to do so. No one else can accomplish this task for the race. It must plan and do for itself".<sup>48</sup>

Woodson clearly understood the social function of education in all of its implications when he posed the possibility, in 1933, that if there were several times as many "educated" members of the black community in the future, the increase in numbers might be a disadvantage rather than an advantage. Of this he said,

The only question which concerns us here is whether these "educated" persons are actually equipped to face the ordeal before them or

unconsciously contribute to their own undoing  
by perpetuating the regime of the oppressor.<sup>49</sup>

He regarded the educational system as it has developed in Europe and America as an antiquated process-one which taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of morals, justified slavery, peonage, segregation, lynching and colonialism-and urged the black man to let the white man hold on to it if he will, but to develop and carry out a program of his own, "developing the unique gifts of the race", rather than slavishly imitate the whites.<sup>50</sup>

Woodson proposed that black schools, then, should not be a replica of white universities, never touching the life of the Negro and causing the educated to leave the masses, alienated from their thought and aspirations, their community organizations - notably, the church - or causing them to become "malcontents with no program for changing the undesirable conditions about which they complain".<sup>51</sup> One of the most important short-comings which Woodson saw in the black schools was the systematic neglect of political education, lest they might be stimulated to political activity. Throughout the South, and the defensive inhibition is still apparent, blacks were terrorized to the extent that they were afraid even to discuss political matters publicly.<sup>52</sup> School books, until recently, were not permitted in black schools if they contained the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Even in the North historians labeled

William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown "fanatics" who brought about the Civil War, black abolitionist were not dealt with, and the white wash which pseudo historians have given to slavery and slaveholders was not to be questioned.

Along with this emphasis on the necessity for political education, Woodson set forth the guidelines for a study of the history and status of the Negro - in Africa as well as in the Americas. Claiming that "real history is not the record of the successes and disappointments, the vices, the follies, and the quarrels of those who engage in contention for power",<sup>53</sup> he recommended the study of the past and culture of the African and Afro-American for the lessons to be learned from it, lessons which could ameliorate the condition of humanity and direct the aspirations of black people. American education had tried to control the Negro's thinking, he felt, by leading him to believe that his race had done nothing significant since the beginning of time and that there is no evidence that he will ever achieve anything great. He describes the plot:

If you can thereby determine what he will think, you will not worry about what he will do. You will not have to tell him to go to the back door. He will go without being told; and if there is no back door he will have one cut for his special benefit.<sup>54</sup>

He also recommended that

the Negro, whether in Africa or America must be directed toward a serious examination of the fundamentals of education, religion, literature and philosophy as they have been expounded to him. He must be sufficiently enlightened to

determine for himself whether these forces have come into his life to bless him or to bless his oppressor.<sup>55</sup>

L.D. Reddick, another leading black historian, held views akin to those of Woodson. At the twenty-first annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, held at Peterburg, Virginia, October 24, 1936, he delivered an address titled "A New Interpretation for Negro History". Distinguishing between "Negro History" and the study of the Negro, his remarks were as follows:

Frankly, the former differs from the latter in that Negro History has a "purpose" which is built upon a "faith". (*Italics in the original*). At the sound of such words-purpose, faith-our theoretical objector may again rush forward to protest that the validity of history is destroyed if it is urged forward by any purpose other than the search for truth or sustained by any faith save that invested in the methods of procedures.

This objection, quite fortunately, is overruled by the evidence that despite what the authors themselves may say, all history has been written with an "other" purpose. Sometimes this has been to celebrate the glories of some city-state such as Athens, some empire such as Rome's, some religion or church, some nation, class or race. We have heard a great deal lately of the Anglo-Saxon and the Teuton.

In the better works, the thesis is implied more often than stated; still it is never absent. It seems humanely impossible to escape (a) point of view.<sup>56</sup>

He continued with the assertion that Negro History shared with all scholarship the general objective of advancing knowledge but has also a particular purpose as a lever of racial progress. Concerning the question of interpretation Reddick declared that "If Negro history is to escape the provincial



nature of its first phases, it will surely redefine the area of subject matter in terms of a larger focus; recast its catalog of the determinative influences affecting Negro life and re-examine the social philosophy implicit throughout the work." (Emphasis in the original.) The point of the argument espoused here is that what has happened to the Negro has not occurred in a vacuum. To a very great extent the "American heritage" consists of the oppression of the Negro, an oppression that leaves residual effects on both Negro and white. The white historian has often been an accomplice in that his work, by omission or commission, reinforces the myth of white supremacy. The Negro in American History Text-books (1964), a study by a panel of historians from the University of California under the chairmanship of Kenneth Stamp, is a worthwhile reference for social studies teachers.

For example, it is still possible, in spite of the work of Eric Williams or W.E.B. Du Bois<sup>57</sup> to study the consolidation and expansion of the European nation-state and Western industrialization without considering that it was the profits accrued from the slave trade, the raw materials rapaciously extracted from the colonies and the labor of black slaves which made this development possible. Modern Western economists and students of change in history use the metaphor of "growth" as if it were a natural, necessary, continuous and uniform process within the confines of Western civilization while non-Western cultures are held to be primitive, stagnant or underdeveloped. According to evolutionary social theory, the recent

history of the West could be taken as evidence of the direction in which the rest of mankind - on lower steps of the developmental ladder - will move and should move.<sup>58</sup> A very circular reasoning is involved here as scholars note elements of traditionalism found in rural, peasant sections of Western societies and use these to conclude that Western society has outgrown a stage comparable to the present condition of "primitive" peoples. "Our contemporary ancestors", "our primitive contemporaries" or just plain "fossilized societies" are the way in which certain smug researchers refer to non-Western peoples. The scale runs from savage to barbaric to civilized - and it is obvious who the civilized are on the answer sheets. That the technological and industrial power of the West, the means of production and the abstract entity we call capitalism were not the result of self contained inner dynamics on the part of one nation or, for that matter, of the entire group of Western states is over-looked by economists and historians who suggest that all the non-industrialized countries have to do is go through the same "stages of growth". Such thinking gives no hint that Western profits accumulate as minerals are extracted from abroad, governments are toppled and supported - as they give credence to American interests - and the markets, controlled by the West, prevent the economic diversification that might enable non-industrialized nations to become independent.

A persistent distortion of American history is found in the work done on slavery and reconstruction. The long reign

of Ulrich B. Phillips, the pro-slavery southern historian, demonstrates the interest American educational institutions have had in drawing a halo around the economic and social system that was slavery.<sup>59</sup> Portraying the slave south as paternalistic and benign, enfranchisement as unfortunate and detrimental to the Negro, and Republican Reconstruction as corrupt and incompetent enabled Americans to justify to their own consciences the virtual nullification of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments from 1875 onward. The images of the abolitionist and the "carpet-bagger", as created by historians, were fanatical, unscrupulous, greedy, or "vain theorists who were windbags to boot".<sup>60</sup> The biographical caricature, unjustly founded, of a white man of integrity and conscience such as Charles Sumner has been honored by a Pulitzer award as late as 1960.<sup>61</sup> One of the most vicious stereotypes of the Negro to be perpetrated by scholarly ingenuity is the "Sambo" type postulated in Stanley M. Elkin's Slavery. Elkin's idea of the emasculated, childlike, non-resistant Sambo slave personality ultimately has the effect of justifying contemporary economic and political exploitation in that the causation is his supposed psychological and cultural weakness, albeit an inheritance from slavery. Elkin's thesis is that the plantation system was a "closed system" much like the Nazi concentration camps of Europe; just as Jews were submissive and dehumanized in German camps, so blacks were utterly crushed. The analogy here is unacceptable: the purpose of the concentration

camps was to exterminate, with American slavery the objective was to control rigidly and to force labor. Moreover, the myth of Jewish passivity has been exploded by accounts of the Jewish resistance groups which operated in almost every ghetto and concentration camp.<sup>62</sup> The resistance of the slaves was much greater given that the master was dependent on the productive labor of the slave. Herbert Aptheker documents, in American Negro Slave Revolts, the numerous organized rebellions and the acts of resistance such as arson, destruction of property, escape, and theft which was the response to harsh conditions. Happy, smiling Sambos were usually dissembling, angry men and women wearing the traditional mask out of intelligent self-interest in survival.<sup>63</sup> John Hope Franklin's The Militant South describes the defensive responses of a South haunted by the specter of slave insurrection.

Stereotypes of the Negro in white American fiction are the logical consequence of the prevalence of the myth of white supremacy in the culture. Alain Locke commented, in 1926, on the significance of the image of the Negro in literature:

I doubt if there exists any more valuable record for the study of the social history of the Negro in America than the native reflection of American social attitudes and their changes in the literary treatment of Negro life and character. More sensitively, and more truly than the conscious conventions of journalism and public debate, do these relatively unconscious values trace the fundamental attitudes of the American mind.<sup>64</sup>

The "classics" of American literature present the image that the society has of itself and wishes to transmit to the young. These are the works which students of American culture read



in secondary and college classrooms. One of the earliest American writers to attempt to represent the American experience in fiction was Fenimore Cooper. By attributing to the Indian a kind of noble savagery, but a vicious cunning and vindictiveness as well, Cooper was able to create the image of the European as being the bearer of civilization and reason to the pure wildness of the frontier. In much the same way, the image of the Negro in white literature has hinged on the need for whites to see themselves as superior to those they oppress.

The first stereotype that comes to view is the "contented slave", created by writers who saw slavery as a blessing to the ignorant, hopelessly inferior and child-like African. The persistence of this image into the Twentieth Century in spite of a history of slave revolt, black abolitionism, black Union soldiers and black Republicans reveals a determination on the part of white writers to depict the Negro as being incapable of conceiving of freedom. The suzerainty of whites like William Dean Howells even set the standards for what a black man could publish. Post-reconstruction Jim Crow needed no better apologist than William Gilmore Sims, or later, Thomas Nelson Page. Another stereotype was the comical fool, so prevalent in the minstrel and vaudeville tradition. His physical appearance was grotesque, his garments ridiculous, and he was shiftless, pompous, fun-loving, musical, but good-natured. Whenever the freedman is portrayed in this plantation tradition, he is wretched. Even

in books which saw slavery as an evil, like the influential Uncle Tom's Cabin by Stowe, a stereotype might be employed. Uncle Tom is the epitome of the contented slave, religious, enduring to an almost stupifying degree, loyal. The Harrises are aggressively set on freedom, by virtue of their white blood they are too intelligent to enjoy slavery. This is one side of the tragic mulatto stereo type, which makes misfits of the offspring of miscegenation, where sympathy is won by presenting characters as having physical characteristics very like the white readers. In the proslavery argument the results of miscegenation are often disastrous, inheriting the bad qualities of both races. In either case the mulatto is depicted "as a lost, unhappy, weebegone abstraction".<sup>65</sup> The brute, a victim of his animal appetites, rapist and insolent swaggerer, is a stereotype that appears soon after emancipation. Sterling Brown quotes E. Franklin Frazier as saying, "The closer a Negro got to the ballot box, the more he looked like a rapist". The exotic primitive - repository of all uninhibited animal grace sexuality, splendid in his savage freedom - completes the Pantheon.

These stereotypes over-lap but are found in discernable form in the works of Melville, Twain, Faulkner, Cable, Sherwood Anderson, Eugene O'Neill, Poe and Styron, among others. Not that these writers are some of the most malevolent in their attitudes toward the Negro. Their intentions, unlike those of Dixon who wrote the book from which the film "Birth of a

Nation" was made, are not necessarily an explicit desire to maintain a white supremacist social order. But even the writers of the twenties like Gertrude Stein, DuBose Heyward, Carl van Vechten and Sherwood Anderson, writing to emancipate themselves from the "Victorianism" of uptight bourgeois society, created an exotic image of the Negro which was based not so much on reality as on the axe they had to grind with the established white culture. Beyond overt racism, ambivalence and the limitations of a cultural perspective are two reasons for the distortion of black characters in white American literature.

## CHAPTER ONE

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## C H A P T E R I I.

### SOME TRENDS RESULTING FROM THIS

#### EXPERIENCE OF "EDUCATION"

##### Failure and Alienation

Since World War II Negroes have intensified the struggle for better educational opportunities. The deplorable condition that public education is in was revealed by studies such as Kenneth Clark's Haryou report Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change. In Dark Ghetto Clark presents a summary of the data from the 1964 report to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.<sup>1</sup> In reading comprehension 30% of Harlem third grade pupils were reading below grade level, compared to 21.6% above. In the sixth grade 80.9% of the pupils scored below grade level in reading with only 11.7% scoring above. A similar pattern of deterioration between grades three and six occurs with word knowledge. Arithmetic shows a similar pattern. In the sixth grade the figures are 57.6% below grade level in computation, 66.6% below in problems and concepts. By the eighth grade 83.8% of the students were below grade level. The academic performance of Harlem students in reading and math, as indicated by these standardized test scores, is compared to the performance of other children in New York City and in the nation as a whole. In the third grade Harlem pupils are one year behind New York City's pupils in reading and math achievement levels. By the



sixth grade they are two years behind. In the eighth grade they are two and a half years behind New York City and three years behind students in the nation as a whole. I.Q. scores show the same trend. Ghetto children show a sharp drop between the third and sixth grades, with only a slight improvement in the eighth. New York City as a whole shows a slight but steady increase until the eighth grade when they match national norms. These figures reflect the quality of teaching and academic achievement more than intellectual capacity since I.Q. is held to be relatively constant as a measure of intellectual potential.

Students who fail are placed in "Special Education" classes where their low achievement is explained by such labels as "emotionally maladjusted", "retarded" or some other category within the rubric of general "learning disabilities". Recently, as Compensatory Education programs loose favor (these will be discussed later in this chapter), Special Education has received large grants for teacher training and program development. Most students, however, remain in their regular classes where little is expected of them. The figures for school dropouts are not suprising in view of this situation. One out of ten from Harlem schools never finish high school. Of those that started high school after junior high in 1959-1960, less than half were graduated in 1962. Only one-seventh of these were "academic" diplomas, most were "general" diplomas indicating that the student has stayed in school for the required period of time but is not prepared for any further education.

Most of those who leave school are failing academically and have become discouraged. This pattern is not unique to Harlem but has practical validity throughout the North and South for predominantly black schools in lower-class communities.

Many books and studies have come out describing the oppressive climate of segregated schools. Jonathan Kozol's Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools (1967); Nat Hentoff's Our Children are Dying (1966); Peter Schrag's Village School Downtown: Politics and Education (1967); Herbert Kohl's 36 Children (1968); and James Herndon's The Way It Sposed To Be: A Report on the Classroom War Behind the Crisis in Our Schools (1968), all on ghetto schools, brought attention to the inefficiency, inferiority and insensitivity of the schools with regard to black students. These are issues that have been raised by black educators since the turn of the century. Daily, black youths are faced with the confrontation of white cultural and ideological chauvanism as they are told in many subtle and insidious ways that to be white is right, to be black is to be primitive, inferior, and pathological.

The effect of racism on the part of educators and the dominant society that determines the priorities of the educational system has been devastating to the aspirations and self-concept of many black youth. Ironically, the American Psychological Association has found that black children prior to the age of five years are significantly more spontaneous, creative, and

emotionally healthy than white children of the same age.<sup>2</sup> Something happens, indeed an unnatural development, that causes malleable human beings to be shaped into children that don't learn in schools. Like the function of the policeman in the black community, perverted from its proper function as a protective social agency into an instrument of repression and assault, the school's function has been turned around to become a child destroyer which chops the natural curiosity out of black children.<sup>3</sup>

As young as three years of age children begin to incorporate racial and religious attitudes similar to those held by adults in their society. Dr. Kenneth Clark describes a test he gave in the 1950's which reveals the strain on personality caused by racism. Concerning two black dolls (male and female) and two white dolls, black children were asked questions "in an effort to determine their racial preferences". The majority of children of both ages queried (three and seven) indicated an unmistakeable preference for the white doll and a rejection of the brown doll, even though by seven years of age 87% of the children tested could point out the doll that looks like them. The fact that black children would prefer a white doll, finding it "looks better" or is "nicer", reflects their knowledge that society prefers white people.

A fundamental conflict results as the lower class black child in his contacts with white culture "learns from the whites the stereotypes about himself which form the substance of his self-hatred" and "he begins at the same time to

resent the whites for imposing this stigma upon him".<sup>5</sup> Taught not to express aggression he is therefore required to adopt defensive methods of aggression towards whites which are acceptable among these being "exaggerated patterns of slowness, clumsiness, simulated ignorance, general apathy and indifference. However, when pushed beyond accustomed limits of deference he is more likely than the middle or upper class Negro to become openly aggressive toward white people." The lower class black child has "less to loose than middle or upper class Negroes"<sup>6</sup> and has grown up in a community dominated by oppression where survival requires a mental and physical toughness. The most sincere white teacher in the ghetto classroom, if bound by a middle-class cultural orientation may encounter these reactions in response to his condescension, the content of the education he is purveying, or the environmental context of the school.

This disparaging view of oneself is further complicated by the internalization of the norms and values of the dominant culture without developing the necessary social mechanisms for their fulfillment. White culture, postulated on the Protestant Ethic, measures an individual's worth in terms of success, which in turn rests on a socialization process which reinforces his basic need to assert himself or express himself aggressively. However, since slavery, and to a great extent to the present day, the black person who has been most rewarded by the society has been the "Uncle Tom - the example of docility and non-assertiveness in the



face of the white boss. "In order to retain the most menial of jobs and keep from starving, black people quickly learned that passivity was a necessary survival technique".<sup>7</sup> This is not to say that the "Sambo mentality" has been internalized within the context of the black community. But, the black child is taught that in order to make it he must "do as you're told"; "Don't rock the boat"; "Play it cool; play the man's game". It is significant, in this respect, that the civil rights movement had to adopt passive resistance in order to achieve a minimal amount of success.

Poussaint points out that of the three attitudes measured by Coleman in his lengthy report, the sense of personal control over one's environment showed the strongest relationship to achievement. He also pointed out that white youth showed a much stronger feeling of control over their environment than blacks. Therefore, it is not suprising that black people, objectively less able to control their environment than whites, may react in abdicating control by deciding not to assert themselves in situations where they confront white society, for example, in the classroom. This effort to turn inward and deny the need for self-assertion in any sphere of life inevitably takes its toll. Frustration ensues and leads to hostility, rage, and other forms of aggression. At first, the aggression may be expressed in certain kinds of psychosomatic illness, drug addiction, or attacks upon those who look like oneself. Finally, the aggression can be directed against those who cause the anger and rage - the oppressors. This type

of aggression can either be destructive or constructive: dropping out of school or resorting to crime is an example of the former, while participating in the ongoing social struggle for Black Liberation is an example of the more positive latter case - a choice that is becoming more predominant, largely as a result of the Black Power Movement and the escalation of Liberation struggles in Africa and Southeast Asia. As a result of this new consciousness among black people and the renewal of Black Pride, old models are being replaced, new heroes are being celebrated. Malcolm X, H. Rapp Brown, Patrice Lumumba, Franz Fanon, and W.E.B. Du Bois are just a few of the new heroes.

Until this time, Black people have had very few alternatives before them. The person who managed to stay in school and succeed in the system often became a casualty of another sort than the "drop-out" condemned to a "cycle of poverty". Because of his struggle to gain acceptance by whites, because of his dependence on the patronage and prestige accorded to him by white power, the member of the black bourgeoisie has generally failed to play the role of a responsible elite in the black community. E. Franklin Frazier put it this way:

In escaping into a world of make-believe, middle class Negroes have rejected both identification with the Negro and his traditional culture. Through delusions of wealth and power they have sought identification with the White America which continues to reject them. But these delusions leave them frustrated because they are unable to escape from the emptiness and futility of their existence.<sup>8</sup>

Because of the all-pervading notion that Blacks were ignorant and stupid, the black men who had managed to cross the impediments to education found himself isolated by society generally as one who was "different", an "exception" - which is to say "his accomplishment was set to one side and the prevailing view that all black people were ignorant continued in full force."<sup>9</sup>

This view fostered his own alienation from his group as well, offering him rewards not for his scholarship but often on the basis of his being a curiosity, much as one pays to see a seal play the piano. If then, he is to capitalize on his efforts, he must accept this role and affirm the general view that he is an exception and that in fact no blacks can learn. And this continues to be the dilemma of the black intellectual - fighting to maintain a tie with his people but paid for being so curiously different from the mass of them.<sup>10</sup>

Paid for being different, that is, unless it is convenient for the white community to see him as being an example of one who made it. Joe Frazier's warm reception at the South Carolina State House is a case in point.

Saunders Redding, a man who survived by bringing these contradictions to the surface, in his personal statement On Being Negro in America, discusses this dilemma which, as he says, has been most keen in the Negro Intelligentsia.

It is like having a second ego which is as much the conscious subject of all experience as the natural self.

An internal conflict as complex as the political conflict between assimilationists and separatists,

One receives two distinct impacts from certain experiences and one undergoes two distinct reactions - the one normal and intrinsic to the natural self; the other, entirely different but of equal force, a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness of Negroness.<sup>11</sup>

He goes on to discuss the philosophy of education now being applied to blacks as a form of individualism, obscuring the fact that individual wishes and successes "now have almost no authority in the world".

Educationists and individualists acknowledge the existence of co-operative evils but deny the necessity to act co-operatively against them.<sup>12</sup>

And, those individuals who have made it, Negro college presidents and black teachers, for example, who are generally victims of a tyranny imposed from without, are sometimes tyrants within the academic group. "They think that people and things should be 'lined up' by the superior intellects with which they feel their positions endow them"<sup>13</sup> and hold contempt for those below on the ranks, faculty or students. They seemingly have learned and are "convinced that the methods of democracy are weak and decadent".

White people have insisted on making their own Negro leaders. They needed to know and to control if possible, what the blacks were thinking. It is this alienation and position of the black intellectual which has made race relations in America relations between ruling elites. The Black Establishment, a hand-picked shadow government deriving status from their involvement in a system of colonialism by indirect rule, is now on trial, alongside the White Power Structure and it's



"not", as Lerone Bennet says, "for the battles they lost, but for those they did not fight".<sup>14</sup> In this light, is it any wonder that so many black youth have not succeeded in school - such success being accompanied by alienation from one's community, it's style of life, and the anxiety of identity conflict. Imagine the conflict of a black man employed by Polaroid, a company which has recently made an effort to recruit educated Afro-Americans, as the company establishes a subsidiary in the Union of South Africa.

#### Rumblings in the Thirties and Forties

The thirties presented a challenge to the "established" Negro leadership which bears resemblance to the "crisis of the Negro intellectual" of the sixties. The depression, the New Deal, the repeal of the two-thirds rule and the new Democratic coalition, the irrelevance of big-city political machines to their interests, the increasing effectiveness of mass communication, the Scottsboro case, the Italian invasion of Eithiopia, socialist and communist militancy, and the CIO's efforts to organize Negro workers all served to politicize the the black masses and to bring them out into the streets, marching, demonstrating, picketing, boycotting and demanding. The National Negro Congress, a loosely federated organization of more than five hundred existing organizations, including the N.A.A.C.P., became a major competitor of the N.A.A.C.P. until it foundered in 1940. Asa Phillip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was its president and

under his leadership the organization made a direct appeal to the lower-class to pursue a program of mass pressure. Adam Clayton Powell led the vigorous New York movement which added some ten thousand jobs to the Harlem work force in a four-year campaign. Youth organized student bodies which employed many of the same tactics of the civil rights movement thirty years later, including the sit-in.<sup>15</sup>

Faced with this restlessness and aggressiveness in the Negro community the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League had to re-examine their former emphasis on the Talented Tenth and the tactic of appeal and litigation. Du Bois, himself most responsible for the liberal, elitist thrust of these organizations, became convinced that this approach had not been and would not be effective. He pointed out that there was more segregation in 1934 than in 1910 when the N.A.A.C.P. was founded. He proposed that, since segregation existed, Negroes ought to use it by organizing consumer and producer co-operatives and developing their political and social strength.<sup>16</sup> He also tried to bring young black radicals into the N.A.A.C.P.

board. The interracial ruling elite of the N.A.A.C.P. was horrified by such intimations of black nationalism and Du Bois, frustrated in his efforts, resigned and returned to Atlanta University. The N.A.A.C.P. did, however, extend its interests beyond anti-lynching and equalization of teachers' salaries to organize youth councils and demonstrations at the branch level. It also mapped a long-range legal campaign and won victories in housing, suffrage and legal rights, but much of this success was wiped out by token compliance or the enactment

of local laws which nullified the court decisions. In choosing the way of legalism, the N.A.A.C.P. inevitably focused on the Southern states where segregation was ad jure, largely over-looking the expanding de facto ghettos of the North. In education the association began with an emphasis on inequalities in graduate school education, a program which benefited the Negro elite but not the masses in an immediate way.

The argument pro and con the issue of separate schools was as important then, in the thirties, as it is today. The N.A.A.C.P. plan was to make the practice of Jim Crow in education prohibitively expensive by filing a series of taxpayer suits. The ultimate goal was integrated schools. Year by year the differentials in school expenditures had grown more alarming for black and white schools. In 1900 the difference in the per capita expenditures upon the two groups was 60% in favor of the whites, but in 1930 this disparity had increased to 253%.<sup>17</sup> Those who proposed resorting to the courts in an expensive and very gradual attempt to "remedy immediate abuses of the Negro separate school" felt, as Charles H. Thompson did,<sup>18</sup> that it was the most immediately practical of the alternatives available to Negroes. An ancillary thrust was to file suit against the illegal expansion of separate schools in the North. Migration, he said, was just transporting the problem. Revolt was, he said, suicidal. Appeal to the sense of fairness of the local whites was rather futile. And, lastly, an attempt to regain the ballot was necessary but would also involve court

action. The essential argument was that separate schools were generally uneconomical if maintained equally, that they placed a stigma on black children as they had always been initiated and controlled by whites on the basis that Negroes were inferior and undesirable, and that they mis-educated both races - creating in the black a sense of inferiority and in the whites a sense of superiority.

Still, however, Du Bois could say representing the more militant strand of opinion at the time - that although he hoped that one day integrated public education would exist which would "create the intelligent basis of real democracy", he was no fool. The proper education of the Negro race or of any people, he continued,

includes sympathetic touch between teacher and pupil; knowledge on the part of the teacher, not simply of the individual taught, but of his surroundings and background, and the history of his class and group; such contact between pupils, and between teacher and pupil, on the basis of perfect social equality, as will increase this sympathy and knowledge; facilities for education in equipment and housing, and the promotion of such extra-curricular activities as will tend to induct the child into life.<sup>19</sup>

And he felt that race prejudice was such in the United States that most Negroes could not at that time receive proper education in white institutions. Where integrated or "mixed" schools existed without friction they were acceptable, but "the futile attempt to compel even by law a group to do what it is determined not to do, is a silly waste of money, time, and temper". And "mixed" schools should not be endured if Negro students



are receiving a poor education in them. Where the treatment of Negro children, the kind of teaching and advice they get, is wrong, "they ought to demand either a thorough-going revolution in the official attitude toward Negro students, or absolute separation in educational facilities". Furthermore, he said it was suicidal to try to escape inescapable association with one's own group, and detrimental to one's own self-respect to disbelieve in the capacity of Negroes to establish schools quite as good or even superior to white schools. Rather, they should fight to see that Negro institutions have every opportunity to be the best, that public funds are divided equally, that teachers receive good salaries and opportunities for advancement and research. The black institutions have, moreover, a special role in developing an education suited to the needs of the community. Unlike the efforts of exploiters to train Negroes as menials and dependents on the ground that Negroes needed a special type of education "suited" to them or in the case of African colonials, efforts to deprive them of modern languages and modern science in order to seal their subordination to outworn mores, reactionary native rulers, and industrialization, Du Bois had in mind an education which would permit scholars to study history, political science, anthropology, psychology and the rest from the point of view of the group experience of black people, without the coloration of racist notions. The sciences could be developed to serve the needs of the oppressed and to maintain their economic independence. The arts could be developed not for the titillation of whites but

for the edification of blacks. Economics in the black school could set a new pattern for cooperative advancement. But to do these things in separate schools means that the control of the teaching force, of the expenditure of money, the choice of textbooks, the discipline and other administrative matters ought to be incessantly demanded. If these things can be accomplished in a "mixed" school all the better, Du Bois held, but he saw it as highly improbable that such an education could be offered to black children in "mixed" schools "in the year of salvation 1935".<sup>20</sup>

The forties brought to life the symbol of Bigger Thomas, an image which Negro moderates and white liberals were trying to avoid. These were truly trying times. World War II preoccupied the attention of the government and the white liberals and although defense industries needed labor Negro workers were not wanted. Segregation in the armed services reached ridiculous proportions. The Red Cross refused Negro blood although Charles Drew, who perfected the blood bank technique, was a Negro. When Negro blood was finally accepted it was segregated. The spirit of defiance and resistance became apparent when Randolph was able to back President Roosevelt against the wall by threatening to bring out 100,000 people to march Gandhi-like on Washington in protest of segregation in the armed forces and discrimination in defense industries. This resulted in the first decisive act of the federal government on behalf of Negro citizens since Reconstruction, the creation of

the Fair Employment Committee. The Committee did not accomplish a great deal and the armed forces remained rigidly segregated, but the tactics of protest were changed thereafter. Unrelenting pressure on the federal government until it would intervene was the basic strategy.<sup>21</sup> The N.A.A.C.P., as before, caught the tempo, under the leadership of Walter White, of the Negro masses and sponsored marches with a tougher posture. The riots of 1943, however, illuminated the urgency of the problems and the ineffectiveness of present solutions.

The war internationalized the race problem and heightened black America's sense of despair. Fighting against Facism in Europe while Facism thrived in America was too great a contradiction to bear. The soft-stepping N.A.A.C.P., on October 23, 1947, issue "An Appeal to the World" at the United Nations requesting international intervention on behalf of America's oppressed minority - a suprisingly radical move. When Truman called a peacetime draft Randolph, with the concerted support of the black community and established leadership, lead a civil disobedience movement which at least forced serious presidential consideration of the issues of discrimination in employment and segregation in the armed forces. The integrated and radical Progressive party's bid for the presidency in 1948 forced the Democrats to make at least token concessions on civil rights. The Cold War and the activities of Du Bois and Paul Robeson in this period added to the nation's fear of the specter of Communism. White politicians began to woo Negroes so that they could pursue their ideological war against Russia with peace and quiet at home.

Some real gains were made during the years 1950-1954. Already in the late forties the Supreme Court began to respond to the efforts of Thurgood Marshall and the N.A.A.C.P. Legal and Educational Fund which had begun to attack not only unequal facilities but segregation itself. A series of decisions against the white primary, restrictive covenants in real estate, and segregated colleges, graduate schools, and interstate travel reflected a growing concern in white America. Negroes were getting higher salaries, more jobs - aided by the tight labor market of the Korean War period, visible government posts, more college education, more ownership of homes and businesses and more Cadillacs. Public facilities in Northern cities opened their doors as a result of sit-ins by James Farmer and the CORE activists and the threat of litigation by local N.A.A.C.P. chapters. The South, too, saw some changes. Almost one million Negro voters were coming out by 1953; schools and hospitals for Negroes went up quickly and quietly. The expansion of the middle class, which inherited the homes of whites who were fleeing from the edges of the ghetto to the suburbs, masked, however, the worsening conditions at the heart of the ghettos. The stinging poverty of the majority of blacks was only slightly alleviated by easy credit plans. And segregation in housing and education was increasing, not shrinking. The inequalities in urban schools were transparent. But a temporary lull set into the black community, N.A.A.C.P. membership declined drastically in the cities, as the Black Bourgeoisie



of E. Franklin Frazier's description rested, assured that complete and equal citizenship would soon be won in the courts. Ironically, the brilliant success of Thurgood Marshall and the other N.A.A.C.P. lawyers destroyed the last illusions left in black minds of fair play in the American social system.

#### Ferment and Disillusionment

May 17, 1954 was the day a unanimous Supreme Court declared, in the case of Brown v. Topeka Board of Education, that segregated schools were unconstitutional. Beginning with Sweatt v. Painter, an attack on the segregated law schools of the University of Texas, Marshall, using the testimony of sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists, convinced the Court that equality involved more than a physical plant. In 1951 the attack began on segregation in elementary and high schools. In 1952 and 1953 cases that had been lost in the lower courts were argued before the Supreme Court. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson submitted a statement to the Court in December of 1952 focusing on the international implications of the case. "The continuation of racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment to this government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations; and it jeopardizes the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world".<sup>22</sup> Finally the decision was reached but with one great reservation - a date for compliance was not set. By 1955, when the Court ordered the racial desegregation of all public schools

"with all deliberate speed, the resistance solidified in the South around White Citizens Councils, other racist groups, and defiant white officials. Public schools were bombed, mobs harrassed Negro students and the atmosphere was charged with terrorization and white revolt. The gradual disenchantment in the Negro community came to the surface with the Montgomery bus strike in December of 1955. Rosa Parks refused to give her seat to a white person and was arrested. The one-day bus boycott called by protesting local Negro leaders became a boycott that lasted 385 days. Under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., nonviolent coercion, a mixture of Gandhian philosophy and the Negro church, became the ideology for a movement. The Negro community organized car pools or walked and city officials were left with mouths open to witness the new morale and solidarity of the boycotters. Confrontation was the key to the new orienation of protesters. Stressing the importance of every individual in the struggle, King proposed to bring America face to face with its evils. The Southern Leadership Conference, with King as president, was formed in January of 1957. Boycotts of stores and buses and voter registration projects spread throughout the South under the inspiration of SCLC and other organizations. Whites reacted with tactics of intimidation, terror, and lynching.

In September of 1957 an event occurred which invoked the wrath of colored people throughout the country and the world. Governor Orval Faubus, defying the federal court, called out national guard troops to prevent Negro students, who were

being attacked by mobs of whites, from entering a school in Little Rock, Arkansas. The nine youths remained determined and Eisenhower was forced to uphold the authority of the federal courts by federalizing the Arkansas national guard and sending in troops to escort the students into Central High School. Thereafter, white resistance took on a more indirect, but not less effective, approach. And Washington once more, as after the Compromise of 1876, felt it had done enough for Negroes and left Negroes to protect their own rights.<sup>23</sup> "Tokenism" in the schools thwarted the spirit of the law. By admitting a few, selected, Negro pupils to an all-white school, Southern communities could comply with the letter of the law. In the North the schools were de facto segregated by patterns of residency and where whites choose not to move they often put their children in private schools. Where blacks and whites went to the same school the multitrack system was usually introduced which separates children on the basis of what is called "learning ability" but which, in effect, is separation along racial lines. Gerry mandering the district boundaries was another avoidance technique.

The lynchings of Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith, of Emmett Till and of Mack Charles Parker caused great consternation in the black community. The non-violent tactics of King stimulated Negro intellectuals throughout the country to question their own commitments and willingness to become dawning places of "the redemptive power of unmerited suffering".<sup>24</sup> Most were not that willing but were stirred to revolt of another kind.

A new breed of writers and artists, under the aegis of James Balwin, engaged themselves in the late fifties and early sixties and challenged the white world's images, definitions and concepts with an intensity unparalleled since the Harlem Renaissance. Also, the growth of Negro nationalism became apparent. Identifying with the newly won independence of Ghana, and with the struggle in Kenya and throughout Africa, blacks began to see themselves in a new way. Elijah Muhammad and his disciple, Malcolm X, were successful in recruiting growing numbers in the Northern ghettos to the ranks of the Black Muslim membership. Robert Williams called for defensive guerilla warfare and the formation of the rifle clubs to protect the black community against white violence. Militants restlessly attacked the N.A.A.C.P. leadership, then manned by Roy Wilkins, for being too complacent and dependent on the tactics of litigation and lobbying and for not providing leadership to the masses. The white South moved against the N.A.A.C.P. from the other side by harrassing members and by filing suits against their lawyers for "soliciting" civil rights suits, thus tying the N.A.A.C.P. up in defensive court battles. Ad hoc coalitions of leadership worked around the conservative tendencies of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League. But the most significant developments were taking place on the "grass roots" level. The ferment began in February of 1960 with the student sit-in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., and set off a chain of events and a consciousness which was a departure from the past. Widening from the autonomous decision



of four students to "sit-in", the Greensboro demonstration involved a large part of the North Carolina A. and T. student body in just a few days. Twelve days later over sixty centers of activity, throughout the South, were in existence. The student demonstrators marched, sat-in, picketed, waded-in and prayed-in all that spring. Their code of conduct was impeccably courteous and non-violent but awesomely firm. They were beaten, burned, clubbed, sentenced to chain gangs and even plead with but they did not turn around; they were profoundly dissatisfied. Dissatisfied not only with the slow pace of desegregation, but also, as Lerone Bennett has written, with the "standards and values of middle-class society which many of the older Negro leaders had considered Canaan".<sup>25</sup> Disillusioned with reliance on the courts and letter writing, the youth sang a song of freedom that said one had to stand up and fight for it. Even Dr. King had not been radical enough, for now the principle of escalation was added. Either-or: either white communities would bury bigotry or blacks would create civic disorder to starve off white profits. According to the Southern Regional Council, between February, 1960, and September, 1961, some seventy thousand demonstrators in twenty states and over one-hundred cities had desegregated many business establishments and public facilities. What became apparent to all who witnessed the conflict of these days was that America was a house divided and that Negroes were not represented in the political process. The state's complicity in the oppression of black people was undeniable as civil rights workers,

enforcing the law of the land, were billy-clubbed, bitten by police-dogs, carted off to jail and otherwise attacked by a lawless police-force. White students in the North and South tried to shake off the inheritance of their fathers' guilt by demonstrating in sympathy and along-side of black students.

Many of the old leadership failed to support the students. Negro college presidents fired involved teachers and hundreds of students were dropped from the rolls. Those leaders who wished to be a part of the action had to change fast to catch the train's engine. Most did not. Martin Luther King, an inspirational figure for the youth, was in a sense given a mandate by the students' invocation. He now combined his former concept of confrontation with the mass participation which the sit-ins created. King's SCLC, CORE, and SNCC were the organizations that carried forth the movement. The CORE concept of the "task force" or "organizer" was incorporated into the structure of all three organizations. SNCC, founded in April, 1960, at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, became the cutting edge of the rebellion. With "a new social order" as the goal, SNCC not only brought a revolutionary will to the struggle, but made a sustained effort to organize the Negro masses in the Black Belt. Workers lived in the communities they organized, slowly winning the confidence and bringing forth the courage of the people. Detached from the middle-class values they had rejected, they lived on a

subsistence allowance and set an example of sacrifice and assertion.<sup>26</sup> With a strategic emphasis on voter registration in the Deep South, SNCC hoped to force the federal government to confront the reality of the most striking contradiction of the political order - that the lily - white governments of the South "were organized conspiracies in contempt of the peace and security of Negro men and women".<sup>27</sup>

The United Nations "riot" - a demonstration for the slain premir of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba; the discovery of the Black Muslim movement by the mass media; the arrest of King, several Northern clergyman, and two thousand followers in the Albany, Georgia, demonstrations; the direct action protests against de facto segregation in schools and housing and discrimination in employment in Chicago and Harlem; the mass confrontation tactics used in Englewood, New Jersey in a frustrating attempt to integrate the school system of the middle-class suburb; and the campaign started in Cairo, Illinois by SNCC all paved the road to the horror of Birmingham. Despite the federal presence at the University of Mississippi, James Meredith was harrassed even after he was admitted over Governor Ross Barnett's defiance. The truthful words of Malcolm X and James Baldwin filled men's ears. And prominent Negro leaders like Herbert Hill and A. Phillip Randolph became fed up with the lip service of organized labor in fighting discrimination within the ranks. Well organized and thought through, Project Confrontation in the industrial center of Alabama raised the

the tensions to a new high. King and his aides raised the ire of Eugene (Bull) Connor, whose water hoses and police dogs went beyond the limits of "peace-keeping". Birmingham resulted in the recognition of the deep gulf between the black and white communities. Thousands of black school children marched that spring of 1963. Whites bombed the home of a Negro leader and a black-owned motel. The Birmingham riot of May 11-12 announced the involvement of the most depressed segment of the black population. Confrontations took place in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and Cambridge, Maryland and in these a new local-based leadership emerged out of the communities. New tactics verging on civil disobedience reflected a intensifying mood of rebellion. Constituted authority attempted to find ways to contain the mounting rebellion. The Kennedy Civil Rights Bill was introduced, and white liberals in labor and the foundations rallied financial support for the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League in the hope of increasing the influence and control of the moderate "established" Negro leaders and putting a brake on the activists. The funding was granted through a new organization, the Council on United Civil Rights Leadership, which was to coordinate SNCC, SCLC, CORE, the N.A.A.C.P., and the Urban League, an inharmonious combination of disparate voices. This organization and the March on Washington group supported by important segments of labor and the white churches did one thing, it assembled 250,000 people, about 60,000 of them white, in Washington on August 28



to demonstrate for the passage of the Kennedy Civil Rights Bill. An isolated event with no follow-through, it did have the effect of creating a climate of national expectation. The bombing of a black church in Birmingham in September radicalized the Negro community and plans for boycotts at Christmas and a SNCC inspired campaign of total civil disobedience in the South were vetoed by the Council on United Civil Rights Leadership.

The cleavages internal to the movement widened throughout the fall of 1963 and 1964. The Chicago school boycott tactic spread to other Northern communities with little support from the white liberal and N.A.A.C.P. - Urban League quarters. Harsh confrontations, rent strikes and hunger marches occurred. The leadership of the new wave of demonstrations moved, with the Negro masses, further to the left, leaving the established Negro leadership to parley with whosoever it wished. Dissident charters of CORE moved over James Farmer's veto to tie up rush-hour traffic in New York. The "long hot summer of 1964" was the upsurge of tremendous desperation of blacks and whites. Anti-Negro hysteria, amplified by Barry Goldwater's law and order campaign for the presidency, and the deep alienation of the urban Negro masses brought Negroes and white policemen into battle in Harlem and other cities across the country. And the Mississippi Summer project was designed by SNCC to force the hand of the federal government. Hundreds of white and black students from all over the

country converged on Mississippi to assist SNCC and other civil rights organizations to register voters. The murder of three civil rights workers - two of them white - and the brutality applied to many others revolted much of American populace that had been indifferent when only black students had been involved. Ultimately, the result was the mass based Freedom Democratic Party which challenged the right of the all white Democratic party to seat its delegates at the Democratic national convention. After a bitter debate, the convention offered to compromise by permitting the Freedom Democrats to have two seats at large. This token accomodation was not accepted.

After the summer of 1964 the focus of attention shifted to the ghettos. Repression of activists and backlash in the media followed the riots. The assassination of Malcolm X in February, 1965, further dimmed the hopes of the many who had respected his stance of self-defense and pride. The brutal repression of the Selma-to-Montgomery voter rights march by Alabama state troopers brought thousand of concerned whites to Selma to demonstrate in protest. President Johnson recommended that Congress pass a strong voting rights bill and sent in detachments of the U.S. Army to protect the expanded group of marchers. King, who had brought the demonstrations to a climax after they were initiated by SNCC, announced the plans for Selma-like demonstrations in the Northern ghettos and called for a economic boycott of Alabama. Even Roy Wilkins,

the N.A.A.C.P. executive director, issued a fiery statement of chastisement in the wake of Selma. But white liberal support for the movement was lulled after the passage of the Voting Rights Bill by the illusion that the problems had all been solved. The Watts rebellion that summer turned moderate feeling into reaction and timidity, and further, the war in Vietnam began to absorb the energies of white students. SNCC continued its efforts to win political power for impoverished Southern blacks. In Atlanta, Julian Bond had been twice elected for the state legislature and was twice refused his seat. In Arkansas thirty Negroes ran for School Board elections; all but one were defeated by fraud and intimidation. Then, in Lowndes County and other counties in Alabama, SNCC tried to organize the majority black vote to nominate candidates for county office. An Alabama law provided that "any group of citizens can nominate candidates for county office and, if they win 20 per cent of the vote, may be recognized as a county political party".<sup>28</sup> Between January and November of 1965 the Negro registration had increased from zero to two thousand. Death and violence were reaped upon the courageous in Lowndes County. Sammy Younge, was killed in the "model city" of Tuskegee. Fraud and over-registration of whites persisted. But by November, 1966, close to 4,000 black people in Lowndes County were registered, had formed an independent political party, held a nominating convention and ran seven members for county political office. The threat of economic reprisal by plantation owners and intimidation at the polling-places, while fede-

ral observers stood by and took notes, prevented a victory but the Democratic Party had to reckon with a very substantial organized bloc of voters. Black Power had been born in concept but not in the flesh. And in the cities the powerless without a sophisticated political strategy revolted. Explosions occurred in dozens of cities in 1966 and again in 1967. Police and National Guardsmen had orders to "shoot to kill". The dream had been too long deferred. The Black Panthers, "US", the Mau Mau's, and a new SNCC stopped dreaming.

#### Compensatory Education

Against this backdrop of political crisis, of black struggle, white defiance and governmental compromise, the direction of "Operation Head Start" and its extension into Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act are illuminated. As a way out of the dilemma of how to please both white segregationists and black protestants and to avoid dealing with the school desegregation issue at hand, the Kennedy and Johnson administrations turned to a diversionary strategem, "the war on poverty". Education was a primary target. And so in the 1960's the mass media shouted "Stay in School and Get a Good Job!" Compensatory education, first for pre-school children and later in the elementary, secondary and even college programs became the panacea for the day. Horace Mann Bond has written, "The panaceas which have been publicized from time to time regarding a "solution" of the problem of the Negro in the American social order are numberless, ranging from annihilation to complete absorption - and no generation has been without ad-



vocates of each plan".<sup>29</sup> However, he said, the plans have either ignored material realities or the spiritual reality that Negroes are human beings. Bond's insight applies in both aspects to the administration and theory of compensatory education programs.

In theory, compensatory education was an attempt to use the schools to equalize children by giving them a special program which would make up for what they lacked. Drawing on the work of sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists the professional bureaucracy of the "liberal" Democratic administrations hoped that if poor, black children got a "head start", and later-when that proved to be insufficient-a good "follow up", they would have the same opportunities for success as white youths did as a result of climbing the educational career ladder. The basic assumption in all of this was that the black child is inadequate in one way or another. The carrot held up at the end of the obstacle course is reminiscent of the liberal promises during the ascendancy of "industrial education" at the turn of the century. One by one, as they become adequate, blacks might be allowed to enter the doors of white society and integrate it.

The literature and controversy around compensatory education are very much alive in 1972 although much of the enthusiasm for the programs has died out with the Nixon administration's sharp cuts in public welfare and educational spending. The underlying assumptions of compensatory education have en-

graved their mark on the view of educators toward black children in the schools. One reason for the impact of compensatory education, besides the federal money that went with it and the rationalization for de-emphasizing desegregation, was that by ascribing the cause of educational underachievement to the black child, his home, family and community, the schools and the dominant society which controls them were absolved from any past guilt and any present need to change. If education, generally, has not successfully met the needs of black children, it must be asked how much more damage has been inflicted with the institutionalization of compensatory education with its basic assumption that black children are to be regarded and treated as a problem because of their "inferior ability" to achieve on standardized tests?

Working definitions of the "disadvantaged" child tend to view the disadvantaged as being just that segment of the population at the bottom of the social continuum rather than including all those who are blocked in any way from fulfilling their human potential. Terms abound:<sup>31</sup> culturally deprived, underprivileged, lower-class, lower socio-economic group, culturally different, inner-city dwellers, culturally impoverished, experientially deprived, culturally handicapped, educationally deprived, rural disadvantaged, and so forth. The significance of this generic definition is that it implies that the existing process of education is, on the whole, sound for most Americans and that the problem is to rehabilitate the dis-

advantaged student so that he will fit into the existing process. The tacit belief embodied in compensatory education, then, is that it is the child and the family who fail, never the school and its teachers.

What are the theories which are used to justify compensatory approaches to the education of black children? They fall under two broad headings: genetic inferiority and environmental pathology.

Although the theory of genetic inferiority has largely given way to environmental explanations of the failure of the educational process to produce positive results from black students, recently, in the Winter of 1969 issue of Harvard Educational Review, Arthur Jensen published an article which revived the nature-nurture controversy as it refers to intelligence.<sup>32</sup> In spite of Jensen's premise that compensatory education has failed because of the inherently inferior intellectual capacity of black people and that it should therefore be abandoned, what he suggested as the appropriate learning process for black children - rote learning and drill rather than deduction and induction - leading to conceptualization - is essentially a compensatory approach, a special application of "quality education to the needs of disadvantage children, not entirely different in form from Bereiter and Engelman's methods. Further, his recommendation that black youth should be placed in Kibbutzim to remove them from the ill-effects of the home environment, thereby maximizing whatever potential which may be determined by environment rather than genetics, is

of the order of the interventionist trend in compensatory education.

Christopher Jencks in a criticism of Jensen's theory states that "American children are given IQ tests, American adults are impressed (or depressed) by the results, and children are treated accordingly."<sup>33</sup> Actually, just what IQ measures is a controversial issue. Alvin Winder has dealt with Jensen's article quite substantially by contesting the validity of Jensen's concept of inheritability from a genetic point of view as well as the assumptions about intelligence which Jensen made in order to draw his conclusions from the data of twin studies. Winder closes with a sketch of the Huxley-like future this article implies-a future not very far removed from the tracking system of today, where

stratified social classes are based upon genetic differences in intelligence, maintained by instructional styles fitted to their genetic limitations. The 85% of the black population that fall below the mean of the white population in intelligence would, of course, be doomed by their heritability factor to be epsilons forever.<sup>34</sup>

As it stands now a high IQ score, like a white skin, is an asset even though it is uncertain that IQ itself is any more intrinsically important than skin color. On the large scale, however, it seems unlikely that high IQ scores will in anyway deal with the conditions which black children endure in American life. Jencks concludes his remarks with this gripping statement, assuming in pretense the postulate that genes determine IQ:



The 'blacks' are disadvantaged in almost every other respect, from their dealings with the police to their dealings with the landlords. Low IQ's are not the cause of America's racial problems and higher IQ's would not solve these problems. Any white reader who doubts this should simply ask himself whether he would trade the genes which make his skin white for genes which would raise his IQ 15 points.<sup>35</sup>

Jensen's version of the superior race theory, though clothed in modern scientific methodology, has its origins in Western culture as a justification for the enslavement and colonialization of non-white peoples. Thomas Jefferson, Founding Father, in Notes on the State of Virginia bases his opinion that colonialization of blacks in African settlements should be joined to emancipation upon what he believed to be the inherent antagonism of the races, implicitly based on the assumed inferiority of the Negro.<sup>36</sup> Jefferson, presenting his estimate of Negro ability and racial differences, wrote:

The first difference which strikes us is that of color...the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races...Are not the fine mixtures of red and white, the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of color in the one preferable to that eternal monotony...that immovable veil of black which covers the emotions of the other race...Add to these flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgement in favor of whites, declared by their preference for them, as uniformly as is the preference of the Oranootan for black woman over those of his own species.

Jefferson went on to disparage and invent other physical qualities of the Negro and then proceeds to divest him of human sensibilities and intelligence:

They are at least as brave, and more adventuresome. But this may perhaps proceed from a want

of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present...love seems with them to be more an eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation. Their griefs are transient. Their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection. To this must be ascribed their disposition to sleep when abstracted from their diversions, and unemployed in labor. An animal whose body is at rest, and who does not reflect, must be disposed to sleep of course. Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to whites; in reason much inferior...and that imagination they are dull, tasteless and anomalous.

Finally, in the name of natural history, Jefferson - the rationalist - declaring the inferiority of blacks in the endowments of both body and mind, queries:

Will not a lover of natural history then, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them?... Among the Romans emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture...

The intellectual establishment has consistently promulgated racist doctrine under the label of scholarly objectivity. In 1832 a professor at William and Mary College, Thomas R. Dew, published a pamphlet which was to gain him the presidency of that institution of higher learning. His thesis was that,

It is in the order of nature and of God that the being of superior faculties and knowledge and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature, that men should enslave each other, as that other animals should prey upon each other.<sup>37</sup>

Similarly, a Professor Harper at the University of South Carolina published in 1838 another example of objective scholarship and ended his career as Chancellor of the institution. He wrote:

Man is born to subjection. The proclivity of natural man is to domineer or to be subservient. If there are sordid, servile and laborious offices to be performed, is it not better that there should be sordid, servile and laborious beings to perform them?<sup>38</sup>

Of course, few history textbooks mention the fact that Jefferson owned hundreds of slaves and fathered children by a black slave woman. He is better known as the author of The Declaration of Independence and the upholder of the natural rights of man.

Charles S. Johnson and Horace Mann Bond in the Journal of Negro Education, 1934, presented in "The Investigation of Racial Differences Prior to 1910" an account of the transition from scriptural argument to "scientific" studies of physiology and psychology the attempt to justify the assumption of Negro inferiority.<sup>39</sup> In that very decade, however, the white American's pathological need<sup>40</sup> to create an inferior being took an elusive turn.

After the research findings of Otto Klineberg and others in the 1930's social scientists seriously re-examined the inherent racial inferiority explanation for the persistent fact of the academic retardation of Negro children. It has been fashionable since that time to explain the facts in terms of general environmental disabilities. But, just as those who preposed the earlier, crudely racist theories "were invariably members of the dominant racial groups who presumed



themselves and their groups to be superior", those who now propose the cultural deprivation theory-the most seductive of the environmentalist approaches-

are, in fact, members of the privileged group who inevitably associate their privileged status with their own innate intellect and its related educational success...the implicit caste and class factors in this controversy cannot and should not be ignored.<sup>41</sup>

Now, the racism "that aspires to be rational, individual, genotypically and phenotypically determined",<sup>42</sup> as Fanon describes, is transformed into a sophisticated cultural racism. A certain way of life among black people is said to be responsible for the failure of the society's educational system. Having reached the limits of sheer force, having lived through the spectre of Nazism, oppression could only now be maintained by camouflage - by the imposition of a new system of values upon the economically and militarily subjugated group. Misinterpretations and distortions of Afro-American culture bulwark the research and theory on this subject.

Wilkerson and Gordon make an important clarification when discussing the classification of the intellectual, social and environmental traits which are used to identify children for compensatory education programs.

To say that a disadvantage child lacks readiness, motivation, and a learning orientated value system is not so much a description of what a disadvantaged child is as it is a description of the way he appears to be when he is faced with a traditional school environment.<sup>43</sup>

Research efforts have had three principal focuses: the child, the environment (school, family, and community), and the



teaching-learning process. The child, however, has been the subject of the greatest research attention than either environments or processes. Most writing has treated the black and poor child as an isolated educational problem, disconnected from the standard educational approaches for its solution. Current definitions of the "disadvantage" obscure many causative factors for unproductivity in the schools as well as many potentially corrective resources. The premise point here is that if disadvantage is incurred by the child, it is as a result of being defined by the norms of white middle-class society and the standards of the educational system, and is not inherent to black children.

In spite of the interactionist school of thought,<sup>44</sup> by which educators have gained support for compensatory education efforts, in fact, researchers have categorized, classified, and stereotyped black children so successfully that few teachers really perceive these children as educable. The literature on cognitive deficits, supposedly great handicaps to learning as the result of environmental deprivation incurred in the black home and community, is prolific. Although reasonable and consistent with environmentalist thought, many questions can be raised about the hypothesis of cognitive deficiency, the most important of these being, "Is this assumption primarily an alibi for educational neglect?"

The following are some of the postulations about Afro-American culture which are used to explain "cognitive deficiencies":

1. Primitive notions of spatial and time organization are supposed to be the consequence of what white middle-class researchers see as disorganized, chaotic external stimulation.
2. Unsophisticated speech patterns, judged to be so, again, by middle-class researchers, inhibit conceptual development.
3. Black children are "motoric", that is, physically rather than intellectually orientated, and best express themselves with the large muscles of the torso and limbs.
4. A supposed deprivation of learning opportunities and experiences due to the low economic status and lack of intellectual stimulation offered by the black milieu, results in retardation at "critical learning periods" and a consequent lack of "readiness" in black children when they are presented with the rigors of the formal educational process.

First of all, Kenneth Clark takes fundamental issue with these kinds of conclusions. He asks these questions:

Specifically, in what way does a low economic status or absence of books in the home or "cognitive deficit" ...actually interfere with the ability of a child to learn to read or to do arithmetic in the elementary grades?

What is meant by "cognitive deficit"? How remediable or unremediable is it? If it is remediable, how? Is it merely a jargon tautology which says only what everyone knows: that these children are not learning?...<sup>45</sup>

Basic common sense questions, albeit from another perspective, bring doubtful validity to this hypothesis of cultural deprivation, although what is really required to cancel out such a

theory is a systematic analysis of the language, home environment and life style of black people within the broader context of Afro-American culture. Present evidence indicates that a child whose parents have no books can learn to read in school as quickly as the child whose home is elaborately decorated with bookshelves.<sup>48</sup> Poverty and poor education go hand in hand, yes, but in this relation: the poor get the worst that an inadequate educational system can offer. The concept of readiness, the major rationalization for the mis-education of ghetto children, is tenuously defined. If an organism learns it is ready, if it does not it is not ready!<sup>47</sup> However, it should be borne in mind that response may be available but other factors, motivation, teacher expectation or behavior, rigid methods, or sterile curriculum, may be unable to evoke it. Children, so the experts say, who failed to achieve "readiness" certainly missed the critical period and so schools become custodial and compensatory, rather than educational institutions. And, about this "motoric" child - it is a sad testimony to the lack of balance in Western culture that science fiction writers project the future man to have no legs because of atrophy and natural adaption. A visit to any middle-class public or private school should find these students, too, involved in a variety of active learning experiences that serve to make education exciting and challenging. What kind of personality distortion must arise from chaining a young, energetic child behind a desk for most of the day.

Reissman's description of the qualities of the "culturally deprived" black child, a term he popularized, is a white man's perception of people he knows as little about as did Alfred Holt Stone who wrote in the American Journal of Sociology in 1908 that the black man "accepts the situation, bears no malice, cherishes no ill-will or resentment..."<sup>48</sup> and would be content if only they could be protected from outside agitators who say there is a problem. Reissman lists the following characteristics as being typical: slow mentality, physically orientated, anti-intellectual, pragmatic rather than theoretical, inflexible and not open to reason about beliefs, deficient in auditory attention and interpretation skills, ineffective reader and generally deficient in the communication skills, suggestible, although may be suspicious of innovations.<sup>49</sup> Later, Reissman wrote about the "overlooked positives of disadvantaged groups", a portrayal that is just as stereotypical as the original and which is not accurate regarding how children react to poverty, low-caste status and inferior education.<sup>50</sup>

Besides cognitive deficiencies, other concepts have been developed to take the heat off the social system and its schools. These suppose that black children are emotionally and motivationally retarded due to a background of cultural deprivation and that this causes academic failure. The postulations about black culture which are cited as causing this kind of disadvantage are:



1. Mothers are seen as apathetic, don't go to PTA meetings and therefore children are not motivated to achieve and behave.
2. Lower class values are defined as being different, negative, and incompatible with intellectual achievement. (Even if defined as being positive, i.e., the new Reissman, they are patronizing, taken out of a meaningful cultural context, and miss the boat by being stereotypical.)
3. Racial isolation is what reinforces a "cycle of poverty".
4. General pathology of the family and community, based on the assumption that black cultural life is a stark, brutal, violent, despairing existence--that black people have not managed to maintain their humanity under conditions of oppression. Proposes that there is no stimulation for achievement in the black home or milieu no books, intellectually stimulating conversations, or exposure to arts, and that what black children need is "cultural enrichment".
5. There are no male images for young boys to model themselves after - as assumption grounded on Moynihan's hypothesis of the matriarchal syndrome in the black community.
6. Black children have shattered self-concepts and therefore do not believe that they can succeed.

One by one, these kinds of statements are highly disparaging, crucially oversimplified, and distorted. Perhaps black mothers have not been apathetic; perhaps they are simply aware of where the power lies and are tired of insults, condescension, pretense and lack of results. With regard to lower-class values, more appropriately lower-caste values, Gordon and Wilkerson suggest that the difference is not so much in basic human values but in the circumstances under which values are called to play.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, the hypocrisy of the dominant

society - the disparity between the values it says it holds and the values it actually institutionalizes - is enough to turn off students coming from a black perspective.

And what about cultural differences and the process of political socialization? Far from being culturally deprived, black children have a rich and complex cultural background, a fact which sets them further apart from middle-class customs, traditions, style, institutions, structures, methods of organization, and perspective. They are educationally disadvantaged by the educational system, not culturally disadvantaged; they have experiences arising from a very real and historically evolved culture, although these experiences may be of a different order than those respected by the dominant society and its educational structure.

When discussing the black family, adherents of the Moynihan thesis focus on the strains incurred by oppression, past and current, as being the pathological source of black discontent. This kind of generalization has come under unvincible fire from black scholars such as Andrew Billingsley and Rainwater and Yancey.<sup>52</sup> A matriarchal society is a society in which the legal and legislative powers relating to the governing of the society are controlled by women. This is not an apparent reality in the black community. Furthermore, the black family structure is of necessity different from the white middle-class type in terms of role function and extensiveness and must be seen not simply as the result of white cultural transmission, but also as a reinterpretation of African patterns of relationship.<sup>53</sup>

All the statistics in the world, if interpreted as deviancy from middle-class norms, will not depict the black reality.

Projecting a shattered self-concept on black children is another way of shifting the emphasis to the wrong party. Although it is true that a black youth growing up in white America is forced into an unhealthy view of himself, a discussion of which has been presented in this chapter. Whites place a stigma on black children and consider them to one degree or another uneducable. Kenneth Clark makes a strong case for the determining influence of teacher expectations, and for the tenuousness of the relationship between home and social environment and achievement in school.<sup>54</sup>

Finally, the supposition that racial isolation in the public schools, whatever its origins, inflicts harm on black students is a superficial analysis which implies that the quality of the schools, teachers and curriculum is less important than the social class and racial composition of the school. The Black Muslim schools do not find black children unable to learn. The problem is not so much that segregation has caused students to have negative attitudes, affecting motivation to learn and achievement and causing students to believe that their schools are stigmatized and regarded as inferior. Perhaps it is the other way around - school boards and administrators view black schools as stigmatized and inferior, teachers view the children as uneducable, and these attitudes are conveyed from above to parents and children.

Social scientists have attributed the problems of black youth in American schools to the pathology of the ghetto family, community and life style. Few have dared to look at the pathology of racism in educational institutions.

The implications for the educational system of this genre of explanatory theory are distrubing as disturbing as is the history of past and present educational retardation of black children in the schools. Suggested programs of action for compensatory projects reveal the ethnocentric biases of the rationales from which they are derived. Some educators say that educational instruction for black youth should emphasize feeling and action in instruction rather than conceptualization. This suggestion is a betrayal of the needs of the black community which requires disciplined, analytic, critical thinking intellectuals for its development. The significance of relevancy in the selection of concepts to be learned and the content through which they shall be arrived at should be the emphasis here. Other educators say that stress should be placed on remediation through rote-learning and drill, that is, a more intense version of the same old thing. The side effects in terms of emotional and creative development need to be carefully considered when recounting the haranging and manipulative approach of Bereiter and Engelman. Other kinds of proposals such as extra teachers for smaller classes, team teaching and curricular "innovation" are nice but simply gilding to a basically white educational system. Tutoring and counseling services are



too often just more of the same irrelevant, inappropriate education and assistance in making a superficial adjustment to it. These services do little to counter the stigma which accrues to black students as a result of their supposed disadvantage. In fact, such an imputed disadvantage must be accentuated in order to justify to school boards and trustees a need for the added services. Those few programs which are successful to some degree in enhancing the student's progress in school, such as the pilot Higher Horizons program of the mid-fifties are watered down and depersonalized as they have been expanded.

One of the ideas that regains popularity as school-age compensatory education programs fail is that of early childhood education. In a paper, "Early Childhood Intervention", published in the winter of 1970 edition of the Harvard Educational Review, Steven Baratz of the National Academy of Science and John Baratz of the Educational Study Center give a provoking analysis of the implicit assumptions and the implications of such interventionist stratagems as Head Start. They state that

...the deficit model employed by Head Start programs denies the obvious strengths within the Negro community and may inadvertantly advocate the annihilation of a cultural system which is barely considered or understood by most social scientists.<sup>55</sup>

They further point out that because of the absence of an "ethnohistorical perspective", research on black people not only denies legitimate cultural differences in the black community but that this acts against the best interests and integrity

of the people it attempts to understand and eventually help. Measuring all behavior by an idealized norm of "American behavior", social scientists wrongly equate equality with sameness and end up describing Negro behavior not as it is but rather as it deviates from the normative view of white middle-class society.<sup>56</sup> Implied is that to be different from whites is to be inferior and that there is no such thing as Afro-American culture. In the absence of an ethnohistorical perspective, when differences appear in behavior, intelligence or cognition, they are explained as evidences of genetic defects or as evidence of the negative effects of slavery, poverty, or discrimination rather than being attributed to ethnocentric assumptions and measuring devices. The black man is simply a "sick" white man. Thus, Glazer and Moynihan state: "The Negro is only an American and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect."<sup>57</sup>

Baratz and Baratz demonstrate the similarity between the genetic inferiority model and the social pathology model. Both models assume that something is wrong with the Afro-American, one postulating that this something is transmitted through the family. The causality is different, not the analysis of the observed behavior as being deviant. The literature concerning language abilities of black people is an illustrative example. Both the genetic racists and the social pathologists "share the assumption that one's linguistic competence is a measure of intellectual capacity".<sup>58</sup> Thus, the comments of Shaler in 1890:

His (the Negro) inherited habits of mind, framed on a very limited language-where the terms were well tied together and where the thought found in the words a bridge of easy passage-give him much trouble when he came to employ our speech where the words are like widely separated stepping-stones which require nimble wits in those who use them.<sup>59</sup>

or Gonzales in 1922,

Slovenly and careless of speech...wrapped their clumsy tongues about it as well as they could... With characteristic laziness, these Gullah Negroes took short cuts to the ears of their auditors, using as few words as possible, sometimes making one gender serve for three, one tense for several, and totally disregarding singular and plural numbers.<sup>60</sup>

Hunt's contemporary description is similar, but from the social pathology perspective:

These parents themselves have often failed to utilize prepositional relationships with precision, and their syntax is confused. Thus, they serve as poor linguistic models for their young children.<sup>61</sup>

Deutsch concurs with Hunt, adding a deficit in subject continuity as well as syntactical organization.<sup>62</sup> Green is another representative of the pathology orientation:

The very inadequate speech that is used in the home is also used in the neighborhood, in the play group, and in the classroom. Since these poor English patterns are reconstructed constantly by the associations that these young people have, the school has to play a strong role in bringing about a change in order that these young people can communicate more adequately in our society.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, Hurst catagorized the speech of many Negro college men in a way that sounds like a diagnosis of cancer:

...(involving) such specific oral aberations as phonemic and sub-phonemic replacements, segmental

phonemes, phonetic distortions, defective syntax, misarticulations, mispronunciations, limited or poor vocabulary, and faulty phonology. These variables exist most commonly in unsystematic, multifarious combinations.<sup>64</sup>

Due to their ethnocentrism social scientists maintain "that linguistic competence is synonymous with the development of standard English and, thus they incorrectly interpret the different, yet highly abstract and complex, non-standard vernacular"<sup>65</sup> used by black people as being a poor imitation. It is a racist contention to say that languages and their cognitive components can be hierarchically ordered. Basil Bernstein has implied this when he attributes to black people "cognitive deficiencies" as the result of speaking an underdeveloped language.<sup>66</sup> Afro-American speech is a dislect with unique imagery, idioms and rhythmic patterns and is expressive of peculiar turns of thought. It conveys a distinctive sense of humor and pathos.<sup>67</sup> It has been validated in a number of recent investigations<sup>68</sup> that many black children speak a well ordered, highly structured, but different dialect from standard English.

Baratz and Baratz continue to explain the basis of the intervention programs such as Head Start and extensions of it into intervention programs which begin earlier and earlier in the child's life and which eventually call for interference with the family's child-rearing activities.

...remediation or enrichment gradually broadens its scope of concern from the fostering of language competence to a broad based restructuring of the entire cultural system.<sup>69</sup>



Deutsch and Deutsch set the rationale when they postulate that "some environments are better than others".<sup>70</sup> Without redefining educability as the ability to learn new cultural patterns within the experience base and culture with which the child is already familiar, we will see an increased pre-occupation with very early intervention, plans to remove the child totally from his home environment, or a dual educational system based on a policy of selective eugenics (scientific racism). Follow-through measures, which intervene in the school environment, only reveal the speciousness of the Head Start programs, which are supposedly designed to insure the child's success in the schools as they are presently constituted.

On the level of higher education we find another large-scale attempt to offer educational opportunities, however dubious, to the students who are categorized as being academically, culturally and economically deprived. Upward Bound is one such program. Here, however, as Dr. Gloria Joseph describes, we have an anomaly. Like other poverty programs, the poor are not the ones who benefit and probably could not benefit from the programs as presently designed. The really poor are rarely found in schools in this age group.<sup>71</sup> As Kenneth Clark shows, each year that black students in New York City attend the public schools they fall further and further behind, until by the eighth grade they are two and one-

half years behind the New York City pupil achievement levels in reading and math and three years behind students in the nation as a whole.<sup>72</sup> Eventually many will drop out and since teachers and guidance counselors ultimately select the students who will be admitted, the student who manages to hang on by the skin of his teeth will most likely not be recommended. Furthermore, success in the program is not possible unless the student already is functionally adapted to middle-class white values. Dr. Joseph incisively points out the misdirection of Upward Bound programs:

The money and effort which goes into this program could probably be more effectively spent through programs operated within the context of the local schools. If the Upward Bound Program were to have an impact on the poor, if the participants in the program were actually students coming from hard-core poverty, there would have to be an entirely different structure. The effort of the program would have to be directed toward keeping students in high school rather than preparing them for post-secondary education.<sup>73</sup>

On the other hand, Miss Joseph continues, if the program is not for hard-core poverty students and the aim is, rather, to encourage the college enrollment of students who suffer any degree of disadvantage, it should be a priority to assist these thousands of students who are already to go to college now but who cannot afford to do so. Upward Bound Programs, located on college campuses are an inefficient consumer of funds that reach only a very few students. Not 50 different in this respect from the fate of Title I funds,

which are usually used for general school purposes, Upward Bound funds are largely absorbed by salaries for directors, staff members and housing facilities.

In Upward Bound the guidelines are laid down by the federal government, colleges determine the nature of the programs, and the hard-core poverty communities have little or no say so. This has also been true of Head Start. Even before the furor over black power, in April, 1965 Christopher Jencks wrote an article for New Republic about white Mississippi's manipulation of the anti poverty-program:

The war on poverty has been predicated on the notion that there is such a thing as a community which can be defined geographically and mobilized for a collective effort to help the poor. This theory has no relationship to reality in the Deep South. In every Mississippi county there are two communities. Despite all the pious platitudes of the moderates on both sides, these two communities habitually see their interests in terms of conflict rather than cooperation. Only when the Negro community can muster enough political, economic and professional strength to compete on somewhat equal terms, will Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept its necessity. En route to integration, the Negro community needs to develop greater independence - a chance to run its own affairs and not cave in whenever "the man" barks...Or so it seems to me, and to most of the knowledgeable people with whom I talked in Mississippi. To OEO, this judgement may sound like black nationalism...<sup>74</sup>

In the North the politics of the situation have not proved to be much different, where politicians and bureaucrats run and define the programs rather than the poor themselves. "Maximum feasible participation" of the poor was a good idea that was never implemented.<sup>75</sup> Whereas to the administrators, politicians,

business sector, and many professionals community action meant assisting the power structure or expanding it into the black community, the poor often saw community action and organization as a means of confronting a local government, a school system, or business establishment that heretofore had been unresponsive to their needs, thus undermining the legitimacy of established institutions. Quick to condemn the stirrings of black power, the federal government has done little to curb the abuse of white power. A report in 1969 by the Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund shows that ESEA Title I funds have been wasted, diverted and otherwise misused by state and local school authorities. The very social structure that has for so long sustained segregation and discrimination has been expected by public authorities to concern themselves with the educational needs of the black poor. Administratively misdirected or corrupt, theoretically an intensification of strategies that don't work, compensatory education has not proven to be a solution for the debilitation of black youth by the educational system.

#### A New Mood

After the Nashville staff retreat in the spring of 1966, SNCC began to change its organizational tactics and strategy. With its decision to de-emphasize the philosophy of non-violence and to stress on the consolidation of black



political power SNCC had already lost much of the financial support given to it by whites in the hey-day of the sit-ins and freedom-rides. The decision to use only black liason people in the black communités and to have blacks man all positions of decision-making at the local and national levels further turned off liberal support, but it was hoped that the effectiveness of the organization would ultimately be increased by this move. Whites were told, basically, to organize poor whites or to go home and change the people they had come from. Secondly, SNCC would begin to focus more on the under thirty generation, particularly on the college campuses and on the city street corners. The guidelines were laid out for what became known as Black Student Union's around the country. Filling the void left by the assassination of Malcolm X, SNCC's new mood reflected its indebtedness to his thought.

The major ideas of the new thrust of the student movement were, first, that black people must control their own communities and the resources and institutions therein; secondly, that blacks could not be straight-jacketed by non-violence in a country where the public police force is the initiator of violence; third, that the interests of Afro-Americans and other colored peoples of the world were inextricably intertwined and should be organized in order to fight the political, economic and cultural system that was strangling them all. Although SNCC, as a formal organization, finally disintegrated, it gave black youth all over the country a lasting political

education and perspective. Black power, black pride, community control and the Third World were ideas that were here to stay, in the ghettos with the Black Panthers and other localized organizations, and on the college campuses. Over 1,000 black delegates from every stratum of the community, representing 286 organizations, throughout the nation, met in Newark on July 20, 1967 at the National Conference on Black Power to discuss ways of implementing these concepts. New images - a clenched fist upheld for solidarity, and new examples - like Stokely, Rap, and Frantz Fanon were upraised. The vision had become internationalized and the intention revolutionary. After being murdered, beaten, spat on and jailed to get on the train, the pivotal question was finally asked: Where is the train going and do we really want to go there?

Two kinds of developments manifesting the "new mood" have particular relevance to this study: the organization and militancy of black college students and the demand for public school accountability by black parents. On the college campuses black student demands have amounted to not only a challenge to the educational institutions, but to the core of American society. They have called for the right to organize unabashedly as blacks; the demand that admissions procedures be flexibly adapted under black control to allow "impossible" numbers of black youth, many of whom have been ill-served by the public schools, into the universities and colleges; the demand that the national wealth be spent, as a reparation and just distribution, to facilitate the development of black student organiza-

tions, scholarships, and an educational experience which is "relevant" to the needs of the black community as it struggles to become more self-reliant and self-determined.\* A turning inward and a building outward, a conscious effort to express in educational endeavors a concern for the future of "home" and a deliberate effort to see that a new America is born in a world whose safety is threatened by America's blind greed. From challenging the legitimacy of segregation, the Freedom movement has evolved into a thrust aimed at challenging the legitimacy of the very profit system which created segregation, urban slums, rural poverty, "underdeveloped" African countries, and a culture of racism in the first place.<sup>77</sup>

Government repression has been the response to the struggle of black students and youth for social change. The political baptism of white students who participated in the civil rights movement has further threatened the militarized state that America has become. The search-and-destroy policy against the members of the Black Panther Party, the abuses of Constitutional rights by the police and courts, the packing of the Supreme Court with Southern conservatives by Nixon, and the brutal repression of student protest - sanctioned in the public mind by the anti-intellectual, law and order speeches of Vice President Agnew, all represent an effort to defend

\*The format and purposes of Black Studies programs will be discussed later in the study.

policies which are morally and politically indefensible in any other way but by literally killing dissent.

Rejection of the "white-is-right" syndrome and the "success" mania has occurred not only at the large Northern universities where black students are present, but also on the black college campuses. In June, 1967, Howard authorities, prompted by Southern congressmen who effectively control the university's funding, dismissed five teachers and fourteen students without giving them a hearing. The cause: student demonstrations for more academic freedom and an interview on the subject of Black Power given by sociology professor Nathan Hare to U.S. News and World Report. Hare and four other faculty members who addressed the student demonstrators were fired and the student leaders were expelled. Three of the five teachers were white. The major newspapers across the country took no notice of the incident.<sup>78</sup> On February 8, 1968 a group of black students at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg gathered in a field on campus property to build a bon-fire in protest of discrimination in the segregated town of Orangeburg and academic conservatism at the college. Police and National Guardsmen opened fire on the unarmed students, killing three and wounding others. Later that same month, at Alcorn A and M in Mississippi, police fired into a group of two-hundred black students, wounding six. The events at Augusta, Georgia, Kent, Ohio, and Jackson, Mississippi followed the same theme of pro-



test and institutionalized violence. Even Harvard has not been immune to police blood-letting, despite the incredulity of Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., an alumnus of Harvard.<sup>79</sup>

The students, learning the lesson, and remembering the violent death of the man of peace, Martin Luther King, introduced guns at Cornell and Vorhees in April and May of 1969, respectively, and students had a shoot-out with police at North Carolina A and T in Greensboro in late May of '69.

The major grievance of black students: that the education purveyed was designed to turn out lawyers with a greater interest in judgeships than in justice, and doctors with more concern for private wealth than public health'.<sup>80</sup> The major demand: an education that would prepare black students to solve the problems of the black community here and abroad - a demand with greater implications for the university curriculum than appropriating money for programs of Afro-American Studies, though this is essential.

On the level of public school elementary and secondary school education two strategies for achieving quality educational opportunities have been pursued by black people in recent years. Though seemingly in contradiction the concepts of community control and of full and mutual integration are not, in the minds of most black parents, utterly incompatible. The goal of both is basically the same, that their children be respected as human beings with the potential that all healthy children have and that the schools offer to them the best possible conditions for the development of that potential.

The issue of community control of predominantly black schools has grown out of the frustration of black parents who have waited and waited, since 1954, for their de facto segregated schools to become integrated, watched white families move to the suburbs or go to great lengths to bus their children to private schools in order to avoid desegregated facilities, and looked up one morning to find the district boundaries gerrymandered to perpetuate the racial status quo. What integration withstand considerable abuse "as well as be an 'experimental laboratory' for bigoted whites 'to learn to live with Nigras'...the Negro must become an expert at 'being liked and accepted'",<sup>81</sup> a strain on the psyche of any child. Unwilling to accept large-scale and two way integration, the white community defined the goal of integration as being, as Stokely Carmichael wrote in 1966,<sup>82</sup>

to make the white community accessible to "qualified Negroes and presumably each year a few more Negroes armed with their passport-a couple of university degrees-would escape into middle-class America and adopt the life-styles of that group; and one day the Harlems and Watts would stand empty, a tribute to the success of integration. This is neither realistic nor particularly desirable. You can integrate communities but you assimilate individuals.

Assimilation, by definition, takes place by the model of the dominant societal model of culture and behavior and thus the black child or children placed in white schools-for the whites have rarely "integrated" schools in black neighborhoods - are taught to regard their cultural identity, their history, their families and their persons as inferior. Intellectually, the

school curriculum is permeated by racist mythology and distorted perceptions of the black experience, culture and reality. Affectively, teachers and students are often hostile or, at least, patronizing. Physically, the students have been segregated to the back of school buses, in athletic, social, and library facilities, in different classrooms, and on different playgrounds within supposedly desegregated schools. Where, in recent years, bussing has increased the numbers of black and whites going to the same schools, black teachers and principals have been laid-off in many instances, particularly in the South.<sup>83</sup> As black parents and students have organized to prevent these abuses in "integrated" schools, we have seen the back-lash of whites grow both in those schools where blacks are already in attendance or in those where increased bussing and metropolization would bring black and white students into the same schools in both white and black neighborhood. A real exchange of culture that would affect the values of both, a school that is accountable to the parents of black children as well as whites is what a great segment of the white population most fears. This is the basis at Wallace's appeal, this is what President Nixon is banking on, as he makes bussing the major domestic issue of the election year in 1972 and thereby obscures the grave economic crisis that the nation is in despite the promises of his administration. Whites - who for so long have bussed black children miles out of the way in order to place them in segregated schools, or who have bussed their own

to privately supported schools, or who have made the trek to the suburbs and ride for miles to work in the cities and return home to the suburban dormitory at night - are suddenly passionately committed to the concept of the neighborhood school.

Whites have always controlled their schools and those for black children as well. While years of no integration and token integration passed by, almost all black children have been left to receive their education in unimproved all-black schools. The acknowledgement of this reality and the outrage felt by parents as their children have been mistreated by white teachers in the ghetto schools of the North and poorly educated in both the North and the South was the stimulous for the idea of community controlled schools. In a city of considerable resources, New York City, black parents in several districts attempted to protect their children from abuse by racist teachers and to improve the quality of education by establishing a community school board. From 1967-1970 the New York City schools system legislated the creation of three "demonstration districts" as a half-hearted response to the demands of the militant, well-organized and thoroughly mobilized parent groups in those communities. Power was never genuinely delegated, the teacher's union resisted and attempted to sabotage the projects, administrators who remained paid little attention to the directives of the governing boards which had no power to discipline them, and they were not given



the authority to control the use of their budgets, to enter into contracts or subcontracts, or to find ways of raising external funding. "Presumably, all was to remain the same, except that parents would elect local boards".<sup>84</sup>

Community control, then, has been crushed where it might have worked with the support of the entire city. Integration, an important strategy in systems where isolation will "not bequeath power to the powerless",<sup>85</sup> is being fervantly resisted by whites. And metropolization, an attempt to bring money made in the cities back to the cities from the suburbs, is being resisted with equal force. One thing that has changed over the last eighteen years, however, is the attitude of black people toward education. Until their children attend schools that are well funded, that respect the integrity of the Afro-American heritage, and are as accountable to black parents as they are to whites, a "crisis" in education will exist. Moreover, the belief that the educational system will be the avenue of achieving equality and justice in American society is now withered.

Contrary to the fervant hopes and faith of the Negro masses throughout American history, and despite the fond conceits of many professionals and statesmen, it is not the education of black men that will achieve their liberation; it is the liberation of black men that will assure their effective education.<sup>86</sup>

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### C H A P T E R   I I I .

#### THE RE-EVALUATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURE

##### Roots

Accompanying the disenchantment of the Negro masses with integration as an end in itself, the institutionalization of collective political behavior involving every class stratum in the Negro community, and the quickening of collective consciousness-witness the simultaneity of the rebellions that broke out across the country after the assassination of Dr. King, black people came to a fuller realization that they possessed a collective identity which could inspire pride, stimulate communication, and provide cohesion and the basis for further struggle. Corresponding to the rejection of an imposed caste status in the political and economic spheres and of the premise of psychological "cognitive" inferiority in the educational institutions, the negation of the cultural integrity of the group as a justification for political, economic and social oppression has been assaulted by black scholars. "Who wants to integrate with cancer?" has been the response of a new generation of black youth who have never been allowed to delude themselves as to the racism built into every feature of American society. Defined by whites as weak, pathological, and barbaric, Afro-American culture has been threatened at its very roots as historians, behavioral and social scientists design



elaborate theories which put the chief onus for his condition on the Negro himself. Returning to those roots Afro-Americans are rediscovering and retrieving their cultural heritage in an assertion of the continuity and power of black people of African descent. From despair and resignation black voices move to hope and revolt, from self-denigration to a cry for liberation, from alienation and isolation to historical connection, from demoralization to moral redress.

White America has had a vested interest in denying the existence of black culture and, where this has been possible, in distorting its reality. Such is the inescapable link between culture and freedom: that men who are exhalted by their own significance and worth will not tolerate forever the suppression of their creative powers. This is why most Southern states made it a crime to teach slaves to read or write; this is why sophisticated minds have tried their best to convince black men that they were devoid of culture and, moreover, without the capability of producing one. Refusing to see the full humanity of blacks as manifested in Afro-American culture, whites belittled its origins, its resiliency, its accomplishments and its aspirations in order to maintain the white self-image of "good Christian people" and to legitimize the use of blacks as work horses stripped of the fruits of the America they built. "Follow the Drinking Gourd" was not just an spiritual, but was a road map to the North and freedom. "Let My

People Go" was hardly an anachronism. And "People Get Ready", "We're a Winner", "No One Can Stop Me Now", and other songs of the contemporary scene are saying more than most whites can reckon with. Culture and its artifacts are indivisibly related to the economic and political condition of the people who create it. Just as black people have continuously struggled and resisted on the political and economic levels, so the culture has been renewed by that struggle, incorporates the self-respect earned in becoming, and sustains the people's will to struggle again when the opportunity presents itself.

When we speak of Afro-American culture we are not talking about a narrow, exotically "ethnic" phenomenon which seals off black life from the rest of the nation or which is an unexplained aberration in the American environment and belongs back in Africa. We are discussing culture in the anthropological sense of the word, meaning, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".<sup>1</sup> This definition implies the total man-made environment of a people. It is a working concept, a tool, and like all other abstractions is a symbol to help organize, analyze, and evaluate interrelated yet quite often heterogeneous bodies of cultural experience. For example, within the Afro-American culture several variations in lifestyles can be discerned. Moreover, seen in relationship to other people living in the

same society, Afro-Americans actually possess a "subculture". The distinction between "culture" and "society" is important here. Society is simply the "notion of a situation in which people find themselves when associated with others".<sup>2</sup> It takes on the qualities of a culture when the society acquires common values and skills that are cherished and transmitted by the society. It may be said that all culture in America is "sub" as the plurality of ethnic identity is a given reality. On one level of analysis Afro-Americans possess a "subculture" like the others, as the distinctive values and behavior patterns are restricted to certain areas, while other patterns are drawn from a mainstream pool.<sup>3</sup> Blacks have contributed more to this mainstream pool, directly and indirectly, than is usually recognized. But, on another level, the experience of Afro-Americans in America combined with the continental origin of the group make the black community so distinct in heritage as to warrant, at this time, consideration as a suppressed but distinct expression in Afro-American culture. Unlike the members of "sub-cultures" of European origin, Afro-Americans have not been made to feel a part of an evolving and dynamic society or permitted to identify with its interests. The Afro-American has not acculturated to the "mainstream" to the degree that Euro-Americans have, nor has he identified with its values and patterns of behavior to the same degree.

The major themes of Euro-American culture bear a distinctively "Anglo" stamp of consciousness. The pioneer tradi-

tion of American settlement still reigns in American folklore and has shaped the identity of those who came later as immigrants and have been able to identify their material interests with the endeavors of the Anglo-American predecessors. Among the dominant themes of this tradition, well expressed in the writings of Henry Adams and William Faulkner, are a faith in the righteousness and spiritual superiority bestowed by the Christian religion, an optimism concerning the power of man's rationality to master nature and himself, a conflict between rampaging commercialism and the value of human beings, and an intense interest in the development of one's own individual potential combined with the value of personal liberty. Very concerned with "rights", the tradition shows small regard for obligations. Edmund Burke said in his famous address on conciliation with America after the War of 1776, "In such a people the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it and renders it invincible".

The three major sets of components in Afro-American culture are:<sup>4</sup> those drawn from mainstream America, those developed to live through the experience of slavery and oppression, and those which are residual elements of African culture, as well as unknowns and combinations of the above. The mainstream pool, which can be called Euro-American or American culture, not only emanates traits of material culture, for example fashions, cars, types of dwellings, or values and behavior patterns adapted to its technology, but also instills attitudes which



preclude the comprehension of legitimate cultural differences, and, specifically, instills hostile attitudes and behavior toward black people. That is, integral to the beliefs and folkways of the mainstream culture is the premise that the exclusion and exploitation of black people is right and reasonable, given the traits that are ascribed to blacks by the myth of Negro inferiority and white superiority.

Science belongs to all men, but for profit and control of the man-made resources which science gives, Euro-American culture has appropriated the means of production to itself, consigned black people to the ridiculous role of brute laborers, or justified an unjust system of participation and distribution by ascribing to blacks the parasitical qualities of innate laziness or irrevokable incompetence. Dr. Du Bois has written of the terrible paradox of Western civilization in contradiction with itself. Professing the ideals of Christian brotherhood, it has, by its consent to an economic result-comfort, leisure, and luxury - based on the exploitation, poverty and degradation of non-white peoples, so distorted its sense of reality that it can no longer express those high ideals. "The result of the African slave trade and slavery on the European mind and culture was to degrade the position of labor and the respect for humanity as such."<sup>5</sup> Out of what men did as much as what they said evolved a materialism, a self-worshipping ethnocentrism and a hypocrisy that has turned the very atoms of the air to poison. The insensitivity of rich toward the poor by whose labor and property they live, the honor accorded

to the aggressive exploiter, the misuse of science for private gain rather than social welfare, these and other contradictions in Euro-American life have planted the seeds of cultural alienation in black minds and thrown them back for spiritual sustenance on the creation of their own values. Without rejecting the need of black people to share in the material and technological progress that white America now has claim to, without discounting the debilitating effects that poverty and racism have had on the expression of Afro-American culture, it is very important that America knows that the white man has lost something by complicity in degradation and that the Afro-American has gained something by transcending that oppression. This is what Afro-Americans are affirming by liberating their own image from the disrespect and paternalism of whites who fantasize that the only important values which black people could possibly have are those provided by exposure to white people.<sup>6</sup>

Afro-Americans are not the only group of people in history to have suffered oppression, to have been deprived of the benefits of science by a dominating economic and political group, or to have been subjected to the imposition of cultural values which attempt to negate the oppressed group's worth. Furthermore, the elements of African culture, which is the root of the Afro-American's heritage, such as solidarity, union with the cosmic forces, relationship with the dead, rhythm, or the elements of the traditional rural culture of Negroes elaborated during

slavery are not necessarily unique to Africans and Afro-Americans respectively. The unique character of a culture is determined by the value placed upon the basic elements, the combination of them, the subtleties of expression open to beliefs and values, the particularity in the way things are done, and the philosophical conception which gives the culture its basic structure and personality.<sup>7</sup> And, because culture is a way of adapting to and changing a given natural and social environment, aiming at the satisfaction of physical, personality, intellectual and moral needs, its character indirectly reflects the conditions under which it has been created and sustained. From experience, not genes; during a long and painful history in a hostile environment black men have cultivated a cultural response to America's machine-centered, impersonal, individualistic culture which is man-centered, personal and communal. Although after four centuries of existence in America many common elements and basic images are shared, white culture and black culture are different in the order and emphasis which determines the relationship of the constituent elements. As Sterling Stuckey asserts, "Black people have not come through nearly four centuries of hell to be mirror images, in dark faces, of white people."<sup>8</sup> They have struggled too desperately to survive in the face of unbridled white nationalism and arrogance. "Soul" and "Style", "Negritude" or "Afro-American Personality" all refer to a way of perceiving, a way of living, a way of feeling and a way of communicating which is uniquely black, and speak of a

body of people sharing in common expectations and obligations - a community of suffering and aspirations.

### The African Conception of the Universe

Africans and Afro-Americans have strong cultural ties based on not only the ancestral heritage but also, as we will investigate later when discussing neo-colonialism and Pan-Africanism, due to the encounter with Western power. Reclaiming the African past as a essential component in Afro-American culture has brought to black people a heightened understanding and appreciation of their own lives and a new sense of destiny. One of the prongs of Euro-America's rationalization for the enslavement, exploitation, and containment of black people is the assumption that African culture is primitive. It has been assumed by American scholars that the person of African descent in America possessed, at worst, inborn and learned traits of a savage and amoral nature which require that he be carefully policed and trained, zombi-like, for his own welfare. At best, whites have maintained that African culture was so primitive and frail that it vanished at the first encounter with Western civilization. The blank mind of the African slave had two alternatives in this view, petrification or gradual assimilation via whatever steps whites deemed necessary. L.C. Copeland summarized this estimation:

...We are told; "The savage and uncivilized black man lacks the ability to organize his social life on the level of the white community. He is unre-



strained and requires the constant control of white people to keep him in check. Without the presence of white police force Negroes would turn on themselves and destroy each other. The white man is the only authority he knows.<sup>9</sup>

The absurdity of those who managed to imagine a cultureless people, or their perversity, is plainly revealed by the very definition of humanity. More attention to the legends the epic poems, and the tales passed from generation to generation by the African Griot, to the archeological research in Africa, and to the ethics, institutions, science, economy and arts of the people has shown that in Africa as elsewhere, culture has been an accumulated experience with recurrent setbacks but whose overall result has been increasing success in the creation of material and spiritual values. At the time of the early European contacts with Africa the material civilizations of both cultures were on approximately the same level. With the advantage of firearms and the acquisition of navigational techniques from the Moslems Europeans were able to become predators on the African continent, build a capital base from trade in slaves and ivory, and finally invest in the exploitation of African labor and resources - a history which is all too familiar and which has done little for the refinement of Western spiritual values. It is this superiority in arms, and thereby in the production of material culture which has enabled the West to dominate other peoples and to impose its spiritual culture upon them, not the superiority of its ideals, values and aspirations. Materially Africa has been raped and suppressed

for the advantage of Europe, spiritually the culture has been fragmented, commercialized and degraded by the domination of human action. Its vitality and creative power have been diminished. Exile and rebirth, the movement away from the Mother, the disillusionment, and the reconciliation - these are the themes of Negritude.<sup>10</sup> The self-conscious attempt to discard imposed inferiority complexes, to recollect oneself and to reconquer one's own personality, one's own mode of behavior, of thinking and acting, of conceptualizing the world and society and of estimating the values created by one's own people - these are the challenges of the first stage of liberation.

Traditional African culture embodied a world view which sees the pervasive unity of all existence. In Muntu: the new African culture, by the Belgian author Janheinz Jahn, the comprehensive system of thought that is African philosophy is described and analyzed.<sup>11</sup> Ntu is the universal force, being itself in all of its manifestations. Force and matter are never separated as dicotomies do not exist in this world view. Faith and reason are mutually dependent. There are four categories of being: Muntu, Kintu, Hantu and Kuntu. "Nothing can be conceived outside them."<sup>12</sup> All things are conceived of as forces flowing from Ntu. Muntu is a force endowed with intelligence, whether living or dead. Man, ancestors and orishas fall in this category. Kintu embraces those forces which cannot act for themselves, have no volition and require a Muntu to activate them. Plants, animals, minerals, objects and tools are bintu,

the plural of kintu. Hantu is "the force which localizes spatially and temporally every event and every 'motion', for since all beings are force, everything is constantly in motion".<sup>13</sup> Time and space are seen in unity relative to the intensity of a force. Kuntu encompasses modal forces which are seen as independently acting, for example, laughter and beauty.

Ntu is primal, as yet undivided and without 'life'. Nommo is the physical-spiritual life force which awakens the 'sleeping' force of Ntu and the union of Ntu and Nommo is the 'grat Muntu', First Creator and First Begetter. The origin of a human being is designated by a modal force.<sup>14</sup> "How" a human comes into being is "what" he is. An animal is born of the union of a 'shadow' with a body. At death buzima, the union of shadow and body, is more and the animal does not exist after death. With man, however, the process is more complicated, involving the union of something spiritual (Nommo-force) with the purely biological union of buzima. This double union is also a Kuntu force, called magara - a principle which acts in every beginning of a human being. Muzima is a living individual, partaking of buzima (biological life) and spiritual life (magara). Muzima is a dead person, without buzima or magara; that Nommo life-force which formed his 'personality is what remains. The dead are not alive but do exist as spiritual forces with a relationship to the living decedents. The existence of the living is central, for without the living the departed have no purpose. Magara, the union of body and Nommo, is the spiritual aspect of



a child's birth. Nommo comes from the 'nature' of the dead ancestors who share this force with the living. It is a reciprocal relationship for magara is that life force which is expressed in the human being in happiness and magara increases in him thanks to the influence of the dead. In its pure state Nommo force - the principle that is wisdom and intelligence, distinguishing man from the dead - is from the kingdom of the dead. On the other hand, man is able to strengthen his ancestors through honour, prayer and sacrifice. In this way man lets magara flow upon the dead and a communion is established. The dead are of different strengths, depending on the number of living descendants they have to honour them and sacrifice to them. An ancestor can infuse in many individuals the small amount of magara they need to begin their lives. This quantity is continually strengthened as the individual develops. The older one is, the more magara force one has and, thus, one is closer to the ancestors. This is why the elders are first in the hierarchy of the living. They are the mediators between the living and the dead in sacrifice because they partake most of the nature of the dead and are most wise.

This paraphrased summary of just one aspect of the African conception of the universe reveals the importance of relationship. This is a life centered philosophy, and philosophy and religion are in harmony. The magara principle governs the relations of men to one another and thus African justice is not so much concerned with liability for material damage as it is with the loss in magara, i.e., life-force or joy. In the com-



munity each man has a right to magara and the well-being and happiness that comes from it. It is a adaptable system of thought. The Christian God, whose fatherly attributes are stressed by the missionaries, has been absorbed into the traditional view as an orisha, a powerful and ancient ancestor.

Man gives things meaning, not the reverse. By the 'word' (Nommo) which man has received from the ancestors, man influences things. He shares the life-force with other beings and so fulfills the meaning of life by bringing forth its potentialities. With intelligence, of the sort that is the knowledge of the relationships of the world, man makes use of things and activates the latent forces within them. The importance of designation, of giving a name, is the sharing of the magara force through the power of the Nommo. Everything that happens in the world is caused by the intelligent application of magara caused by some Muntu. The person who misused the power of the Nommo, succumbing to the lust for power and activating the forces of things in order to destroy the life-force of his fellow man, was condemned to a death like the animal's. Burned or cast to the hyenas, he is robbed of magara and annihilated. Only with the disruption of the traditional order by colonial domination did the witchcraft of the 'wizard' loose its terror and become the only means for "resisting a lawless oppression in an equally lawless fashion".<sup>15</sup>

Naming, the very enunciation of the name, produces what it names. Naming is a creative act having consequences.

There is no noncommitted, "harmless" word. Muntu is responsible for his word. The word invokes the forces of things and these forces are then at man's service. Thus, in contemporary African poetry a vision of the future is invoked, an imperative is addressed to time, and man is transformed as well by his relationship to the forces conjured up by the invocation through imagery. To write poetry means to create a new reality. Art is collective and functional; the artist has a social function. His role is to speak to the community and for it, to invoke the forces of nature for the service of the community. Man by giving meaning to words by the power of Nommo creates images which transform reality in the direction of the future. In the same way man, the master of every kuntu, creates symbols of the spiritual forces which are being worshipped by designating what force an object represents. Through the medium of the symbolic image, independent of its form, man prays to the ancestral god to strengthen the god while sharing in his life force. The power of the image to express magara to the god is given by man's own joy in the creation of the image and its designation. The image itself is never worshipped. Thus, man gives sounds and things fresh meaning with each useage. The designation of the image is recognized by the determinative qualities it is given, that is, by its form. The meaning or designation, then, gives the object to be used as an image its form. Kuntu is style, the "how". "How is the designation to be recognized?" is answered by the concrete form of the image, an aspect of Kuntu.

The other component of Kuntu is rhythm. Meaning and rhythm are inseparably interwoven. Objects do not have meaning and rhythm just as art is not a thing (kintu) but an activity (kuntu). The artistic product is not important in itself. It is the fashion in which the creative, form-giving process takes effect that has a function. The work of art loses its value when functionless for Muntu. Rhythm is the modality (kuntu) of the Nommo. It activates the word through the movements of dance, the visual rhythm of color, line, surface and volume, and the rhythm of speech captured by the drums. Rhythm means something and emphasizes meaning. It, along with designation, makes movement and prose imperative. It is the procreative component of the Nommo. Designated meaning "is expressed through signs, determinants which are rhythmically arranged and the expressive power of which is intensified by rhythm".<sup>16</sup>

Kuntu, the modality of activity, is an independent force. It is in Kuntu that the character of African culture is expressed. It is not, for example, the vocabulary of African language that has cultural significance. It is, rather, the way of using speech - the images created, the creative attitude toward speech, the rhythms created with speech by intonation alliteration, word play and reiteration. The use of dance movements to express meaning and to represent characteristics or forces is more important than the specific movements. Art is not realistic, it is representational and incantatory. It may be said

that the man who is wise masters the "art of living" as he tries to designate his actions and his creative products with the meaning that a profound conception of the world lends to life. Things and their organization can be altered without changing the creative style of human life.

The economic production and social organization of traditional African culture was regulated by the basic philosophy of life. The solidarity of the tribal group, an important requirement in an agricultural or herding economy, was insured by the conception of magara. To pull up one's roots would be tantamount to being struck by lightning, for one's very essence gains strength through relationship to the ancestors and one's kin. "A single bracelet does not jingle", says a congolese proverb. Sayings, proverbs, tales and folk songs express the wish for mastery over nature, but there is praise and respect for the potentialities of nature. Invoking the growth or result that he needs, man calls nature to deliver its fruits while cultivating carefully at the same time. In hunting, for example, the African does not glory in the kill - there are songs of appreciation for the hunted, in the hope that there will be more when it is needed. The legal system is also characterized by a concern for unity. The objective of justice is to re-establish unity and good-feeling in the community. It is a dominant social value that villages should not break up and that kin should remain united. Thus, the settlement of disputes is seen as communal in the rights and obligations involved. Any member of the audience present at a trial is permitted to testify and



...the wise and skillful judge inquires into all of the grievances that are brought up. He tries to bring into the open the whole record of quarrels and breaches of obligation on both sides...<sup>17</sup>

Unity means power. The ideal person is the one who vibrates with energy and the rhythms of the universe. He not only contains the resources of his individual being, but also the power that flows from the group in which he finds his being, the generations past, and the very universe as well.

Land belonged to the community. President Nyerere of Tanzania expresses the traditional attitude, so different from the way in which European feudal lords came to consider themselves as the owners of the land they were entrusted with simply defending against possible invaders:

Each individual within our society had a right to the use of land, because otherwise he could not earn his living and one cannot have the right to life without also having some means of maintaining life. But the African's right to land was simply the right to use it; he had no other right to it. (nor) did it occur to him to try and claim one.<sup>18</sup>

While there are differences in the customs regarding land transfer and useage, there is generally a firm communal element in land tenure. The earth was regarded as the Mother of the people. The rights in the product of labor and resources were also communal, not that anyone could have anything he wished that was available or that there was equity of possession. The community as a whole, perhaps in the person of the king or chief, did have crucial rights in the disposal of property. President Kenyatta describes a system among the Kikuyu which was close to private ownership but public use.<sup>19</sup> The traditional right of a landless peasant to settle and cultivate, but not to own or control,

a piece of a more affluent family's land is a case in point. Another example is the unquestioned right to share in the food and shelter of another tribesman when one is travelling or in distress. The significance of possession is in the dignity and status associated with possession not in the arbitrary right to use or destroy at one's will. Marriage, economic production, education, political structure, law and religious worship were all conditioned by the communal relationship. With the coming of the white man the unity of life was fragmented.

The African slaves were forbidden by the master to take part in other than Christian religious ceremony; the invocation of spiritual force through the dance was suppressed and punished; the drums, communicating with the ancestors, sending messages from man to man, and relating the history of the people, were silenced; the family was ripped apart and the relationship between kin and ancestors broken; the power of designation was usurped by the oppressor for his own advantage. But Kuntu is unchanging and African culture provides the human being with an irresistible will to freedom of expression. Man must make life meaningful, he must assert himself - his magara - for the sake of generations past and generations to come. By invocation, by symbolization, through song and movement, language and legends proverbs and tales the Afro-American was able to retain much of the meaning of his life and to transmit it through generations of captivity. "War, disease and famine can discourage genius

but cannot kill it. If its tongue is cut out, it will speak with gestures and if its eyes are put out it will continue to feel its way..."<sup>20</sup>

Melville J. Herskovits published a major statement on Afro-American culture in 1941: The Myth of the Negro Past. Although since that time much re-evaluation has taken place and Herskovits' theory has been regarded as over-stated, he did manage to counter the prevailing ideas which saw Afro-American life from only a negative stand-point, that is, in as much as it deviated from white middle-class norms. Applying an ethno-historical methodology to the study of Negro life in South America, the West Indies and the United States, he saw the similarities of the cultures as reflecting various degrees of "Africanisms", mostly from West Africa. In some cases these "residual" elements of African culture were the result of simple "retention", for example, of African words or proverbs. In other cases African retentions were reinterpreted with cultural accommodation to European and American Indian forms. "Under contact, a new form can be accorded a value that has a functioning role into which it can be readily fitted; or an old form can be assimilated to a new one..."<sup>21</sup> An example of this might be the way in which the black Protestant service is practiced. In the structure of the building, in the dress of those in attendance and in the use of piano or organ and the Bible as the authority for belief black churches and white churches are the same. But, the style of worship, the ritualistic movements, the rhythmical

participation through hand-clapping, the antiphonal responses which punctuate the sermon, the possession by the spirit of the Holy Ghost, the role of the minister as one with the Holy Ghost have for those who worship them, the style and imagery of the sermons, and the internal organization of the church all have marked similarity to African patterns of "service to the god".

Herskovits' work showed that Africanisms could be found in a continuum from pure African carry-overs to behaviors that are indistinguishable from that characterizing the dominant Euro-American culture. Corresponding to what Jahn says about the adaptability of the Africa "way of doing things", the kuntu, Kerskovits' wrote:

African culture, instead of being weak under contact, is strong but resilient, with a resiliency that itself has sanction in aboriginal tradition. For the African holds it is pointless not to seek an adaption of outer form, where this can "in a manner" be achieved.<sup>22</sup>

Differentiating cultural form from cultural sanction, he developed a basis of analysis whereby Afro-American culture could be viewed as having "integrated old beliefs with new, reinterpreting both to fit a pattern of sanction and value that functions effectively in meeting the psychological needs of life".<sup>23</sup> As did Carter G. Woodson, Herskovits felt that a people that denies its past is a prey to doubt of its value today and of its potentialities for the future. By demonstrating the historical depth and ongoing force of the African heritage he sought to destroy the idea that blacks had no operative past



except bondage, an idea which was taken to mean that Afro-American life was hopelessly disorganized, demoralized and not a "cultural" product at all. This pejorative tradition rests on an analysis of social statistics such as official census data, statistical reports of social service agencies, records from police and courts, case histories of social workers and other sources which are biased by their own cultural function to focus on behavior and social phenomena which are conventionally defined as "disorganized" by middle-class white norms.<sup>24</sup> Such reasoning automatically excludes the possibility of considering alternative cultural forms that have their own order and functions, or of particular behaviors in one cultural forms that have their own order and functions, another cultural context. Herskovits' theory of syncretism, where items from two or more cultures have been fully merged, reinterpretation and retention permitted the emergence of a new perspective on Afro-American life, one based on the concept of cultural difference and integrity.

#### Coping with Racism and Oppression

A third component of Afro-American culture needs to be separated for the purpose of discussion beside those we have already mentioned, i.e., the residual elements of African culture and a degree of acculturation into the American "mainstream" culture. This third component is comprised of the "coping mechanisms" which black people have developed in order to fulfill their basic needs in the face of enslavement, poverty,

and racism. This particular focus should not obscure the influence of Africanisms or of certain values assimilated from Euro-American culture, but it does allow an emphasis on the way in which Afro-Americans have adapted to the vicissitudes of existing economic, political, and social conditions. Contrary to the view that Negro behavior is a direct effect of the caste system maintained by whites, that is, a passive product of deprivation and oppression, recent scholarship has combined socio-economic analysis with anthropologic theory in order to study the creative ways in which blacks have adapted to the situation in which racial oppression has placed them. The assumption here is that "Soul" is the Afro-American's unique and viable solution to recurrent human problems, it is not a variant of European culture found in any and every lower - class sub-culture of poverty which will evaporate with the coming of middle-class status, although, no doubt, as the social context changes Afro-American culture will adapt and offer more alternatives. As it is and has been, the lower-class Afro-American has had a limited functional autonomy which has to a great degree blocked participation in many of the avenues of cultural expression open to whites. For example, Afro-American culture has an oral literary tradition for two reasons, the influence of the African heritage and a history of denied educational opportunity. With a change in the latter circumstance Afro-American culture could have both an oral tradition and a written literary tradition

which would, of course, be enriched by the dramatic and poetic intensity which the oral tradition lends to prose. The point here, however, is that Afro-American culture does have a literary tradition and does have all the basic elements of organization universal among human life ways. "Having done much with little, imagine what we could do if we had something" - so spoke the president of a small black college to this writer. The same goes for Afro-American culture. Its proper flowering implies an action to put an end to the causes which have thwarted its expression and narrowed its repertoire, these causes being political, economic and cultural domination.

"Ideal" culture and "real" culture are not always the same.<sup>25</sup> American ideology assigns importance to the value of brotherhood or of equality. Yet, material wealth is correlated with occupations, education and political power. The poor have had little opportunity to achieve any of these things. Another value in American life is that every individual should have the opportunity to develop his full human potential, yet, it takes money and resources to do that in American society. This gap between reality and idealism is true for Euro-American culture and is true for Afro-American culture as well. The essence of poverty is relative deprivation, being in want of something that is needed or generally recognized as having value. Important values are often compromised by situational adaptations. Where the ideal cultural response is not available due to stress

or limitation that is uncontrollable, the culture innovates alternatives to maintain life, sanity, and dignity. All the values that lend inner coherence, therefore, may not be overtly expressed.

The "culture of poverty" theory grows out of the pejorative tradition established by Frazier, who assumed that black ruralfolk culture disintegrated under the impact of urbanization rather than adapting. Moynihan, Glazer and Oscar Lewis are the foremost proponents of a view of the black poor (most studies of the poor have been done on blacks) which is a distortion, shifting the focus of concern from the crucial structural characteristics of a stratified social system to the assumed weaknesses in "lower-class culture" which preclude the kind of learning that is prerequisite for further progress. First, presuming that the characteristics of classical "lower-class culture" (paradoxically meaning life without the rudiments of culture) as Lewis describes it are found in the black community to a widespread degree - these being apathy, social disorganization, aggression, super-sexuality, self-indulgence, inability to defer gratification, and a host of other alleged motivational peculiarities - the basic assumption here, remember, is that the black poor have no one to blame for their deplorable condition, poverty being the result of pathology that perpetuates itself in lower-class culture without assistance from the white world. The major fault to be found with this theory is just this assumption. No life style is completely self-perpetuating. Cul-



ture is both inherited and influenced by the community's relationship to its social environment. It is true that what is at first independent generational adaption becomes a heritage of transmitted assumptions, forecasting to the next generation a conception of what one can expect from life, but it is also true that these "self-fulfilling phophecies" may coincide with realistic assessments of the present situation. It is unlikely that black culture would prevent changes where adaption has consisted in adding situational modes of behavior for mainstream behaviors that are considered to be important but unachievable.<sup>26</sup> In fact, to eliminate racism is a local concern of black people and new opportunities are not missed - although whites may interpret certain actions like quitting jobs or school as not valueing work or education. Probably, the jobs open to unskilled black men are not worth having. And, even white children who are socialized for the culture of the schools find them stultifying and dehumanizing. Surely, there is non-adaptive behavior among the black poor, as in any group of people, but these things about the culture - pimps, drugs, compensatory buying, sexual boasting, intra-group violence - are only some of the alternatives in a necessarily flexible culture and, considering the imposed limitations of the environment and the consequent frustrations created, they have a reason for being. (Moreover, the white community often profits from and reinforces these behaviors). Although there are coping techniques in black culture which are not highly valued in the culture itself while

they apparently gain normative legitimacy from frequency, there is nothing unrealistic about the way in which blacks have adapted to poverty. Moreover, with an emphasis on a cluster of non-adaptive behaviors that vary from middle-class norms, which will change when the on-going situational constraints that produced them change on a large scale, the resiliency of positive adaptive patterns is over-looked.

In spite of the range of alternative beliefs, values and behaviors available in the repertoire and the heterogeneity of life styles black people adopt, certain uniformities provide for the cohesion of the culture. All members of the group share the understanding of what it means to be black in a white society. This factor contributes to the tolerance the culture has for value stretch. Whether middle-class or lower-class in economic status, most blacks have similar cultural repertoires though used differently, which can be used to predict each other's behavior in different situations and can facilitate communication.<sup>27</sup> Although white middle-class values and norms are known by lower class blacks, in some cases racism has blocked participation and so the need for symbols, meaning and value has been created elsewhere. In other cases, where countervalues, beliefs and modes of behavior are determined by the African heritage the preference for these cultural items does not indicate that blacks are ignorant of white norms. Black people tend to be bi-cultural, capable of meeting "the man" on his terms if necessary. A self-imposed distance is a coping device frequently used to

avoid such compromising gestures and to protect selfhood and integrity. Another important factor in giving the group cohesion is that Afro-Americans have created a political history which has involved the individual and the collective group in direct and indirect struggle against racism. Historians continue to assert that the slave experience went unrecorded and unprotested by the slaves, today Oscar Lewis and Moynihan assert that black children have no families and if they do parents and children are apathetic. These writers have shown very little understanding of the reality of black life and the ways in which black people have survived slavery, peonage, the strain of migration, the poverty of ghetto life, and the insult and violation reaped upon them by racism.

Through control of a powerful cultural apparatus whites have continuously stated the authority of mainstream cultural definitions which project stereotypes of blacks. The Negro stereotype as created by whites supposes that the Negro is childlike, super-sexed, lazy, bestial, stupid, irresponsible and a thief. One way of fighting back was to use the stereotype as an aggressive weapon against the very society that imposed it. By appearing to accommodate the trait the black person was able to capitalize off of it. The Marster-John stories show this kind of aggression at work.<sup>28</sup> The gain is usually one of psychological advantage, where the white man gullibly accepts the Negro's stupidity or "misuse" of language to be genuine and then finds himself tricked. Breaking tools in the days of slave-

ry was another covert way of expressing aggression. The masters often were convinced that the slaves were too stupid and careless to know how to handle the tools properly. In other stories the focus is on making the stereotypical trait into a direct illustration of the Negro's power and superiority to the white man, for example, sexual superiority is assumed by the Negro male in combination with toughness and "style" at the expense of the white man's pride and masculine image. This way of converting the traits implied by the stereotype is now being rejected by leaders who are consciously trying to revitalize the culture and mobilize the masses. The cost of conforming to the stereotype is that, although the image of the Negro is converted to positive terms, the image is still basically defined by the stereotype which has been imposed by whites.<sup>29</sup> The pimp, a "cool-cat", and the "bad-man" are two variations of stereotype conversion that have served as alternatives to the man seeking self-respect and a sense of power and position but they operate at the expense of the welfare of the community as a whole as their role employs manipulation, coercion and exploitation of others. The attractiveness of the pimp or the tough guy is in their style, the fact that they have managed, in a life-situation filled with unsolvable problems and humiliations, to hold their heads high with pride, look fine and vibrant and fascinate, captivate and gain power over others with their ability to rap forcefully and wittily. Poise in a non-rational universe is their characteristic stance. The preacher and the en-



tertainers also are heroes in as much as they share these traits. Others can vicariously identify with their obvious ability to "make it" not just in the economic sense, but by defending a claim to pride. The militant shares with the preacher, the entertainer, and the hustler the ability to rap with a use of rhetorical devices like repetition of phrases, incantatory utterance, shouts and falsetto that captivate his audience. More powerful is his aptness for "telling it like it is" and focusing the sight of the listener on the source of his blues-the white power structure. With the disillusionment of the masses after the failure of World War II, the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the civil rights movement and the Civil Rights Act to make much change in their lives there came an upsurge of the group's sense of peoplehood and a re-evaluation of the relationship of the black community to the white community. In the emergence of the concept of "soul" there is an assertion that Afro-Americans have an independent and positively defined group identity. Combining elements of blues, where the lone singer as representative of the communal predicament enable the audience to experience collective catharsis, and the call and response pattern and emotional fervor of the gospel, "soul" music in the latter fifties and the sixties began to express a new dimension of possibility.<sup>30</sup> The soul singer and his ensemble, polished and pretty in performance, sing a message of working things out, hanging in, and moving on up, along with the traditional complaints of the blues. The weariness and long-suf-

fering, the deep emotion and expressiveness of blues have been accepted but transcended with an insight into the strength and beauty, the vitality, of the self, individual and collective, that has made it through what black people have survived. Translated into other realms of experience Soul implies self definition and group solidarity. "Soul brothers" and "soul sisters" are terms of address which stress the cooperative values as known in the context of relationship with the members of one's community church. Believing together, working together, suffering together, struggling together and celebrating together are the keynotes of the fervant call to unity which the new militants are sending out, a call based on deep blk resources and the desire for change.

"Soul" as philosophy of life or world view has its counterpart in the political and economic idea of black power. Like the black power movement it has reclaimed the identity of the middle-class which, because of a different level of involvement in the institutions of the dominant society, has tended toward assimilation of white values and alienation from the black poor. Again, as in the black power movement, "soul" embodies the theme of confrontation defined in operative terms as "sass". It means a style of being which is honest to one's feeling, a willingness to stand up and speak out rather than compromise one's integrity, especially in the presence of whites, where formerly black people have sometimes done violence to themselves for fear that the white man would do violence to them. On-going,

open confrontation with life, infusing action with the will to exist, sharing and exhibiting energy in the way that comes "naturally" - these are ways of seizing initiative, maintaining cultural integrity and cancelling out the canon of value that insists "white is right". Going back to the Southern tradition and further to the African heritage, the black cultural nationalist, in attempting to rationalize and clarify a "great tradition" of blackness - in Robert Redfield's use of the term - is attempting to construct an image of the group that will invoke the direction of the future.

However, this movement toward revitalization of Afro-American culture cannot stop with the cultivation of cultural authenticity, but must activate the awareness of the entire black population and mobilize it for the struggle for political liberation and social promotion. Spiritual and material culture are "dialectically linked and exercise a reciprocal influence on each other."<sup>31</sup> Therefore, spiritual culture, if it is to be more than a hope of what man can be, must be "guided by reason with a view to attaining well-defined objectives and finding solutions to well-defined problems".<sup>32</sup> Culture is vital and exists to meet efficiently the needs of people. Tactics, strategy, a degree of planning and continuous evaluation and modification are essential to the attempt of Afro-Americans to take control of their own destiny. Solidarity requires rap, yes, but beyond this it means organized involvement of the masses in the actualization of a material culture that will express the

spiritual values and intellectual conception of what relationships between man, society and nature should be. The construction of a new, utopian image of socio-cultural organization is a continuous process of clarification. The code, or blueprint, of the "goal culture" is never complete; new inadequacies are constantly being found in the existing "system", and new "inconsistencies, predictive failures, and ambiguities are discovered in the code itself...".<sup>33</sup> To transform the existing culture into the goal culture requires that the movement gain the adherence of a substantial proportion of the population and gain some control over crucial social apparatus. The revitalization movement cannot ultimately be successful in putting the goal culture into operation unless the movement can defend itself from outside attack, obtain internal social coordination without "destructive coercion" - i.e., through communications and education, and have a successful economic program.<sup>34</sup> In this process of building the culture's powers of adaption are liberated, superstition and outmoded mores are found to be useless, and the talents of the people flourish. However, revolutionary culture, one that has the determination to change the conditions which stifle the expression of spiritual values, depends upon the commitment and participation of an aware and responsible general population. The revolution is to improve the life of all of society, not just an elite. Therefore, it must be the creation of all of the people to be successful. This



brings us back to the importance of education and its role in enabling the people to give the best of themselves.

### The Normative Dimension of Formal Education

The normative dimension of formal education is too often taken for granted by the American educator. Unaware of the implications of his efforts, the teacher will project his own values and behavior norms on to the client and the child who does not conform is humiliated, discouraged and fearful. The recent writing on "child-centered" education vigorously attacks the methods of the teaching profession which demand that in order to get good grades the student must stifle his creativity and intelligence. Besides pointing out that teachers who think they are in the "information dissemination" business<sup>35</sup> are ignoring the fact that a "knowledge explosion" makes most information they impart irrelevant by the time they open their mouths, authors such as Goodman, Friedenberg, McLuhan, and Postman and Weingartner have made people uneasy by questioning the way learning is defined in the schools. Questioning is not something that teachers tolerate very well. Most classrooms are managed so that the student receives the distinct impression that all the answers are "there" in some book or should not be questioned lest he show himself to be "stupid" in the teacher's eyes. Substituting labels for reality, squeezing new phenomena into old categories and trying to impose sequential patterns on episodic events and subjective meanings on students who had better remain passive receivers are some of the ways in which teachers unconsciously

program the learning of students. And, a majority of the students turned out by the educational system are not good learners, that is, are not confident in their own abilities to solve problems, do not enjoy solving problems, do not trust their own judgment, are fearful of being wrong or without a fast answer, and do not know how to examine their own assumptions. The teacher who maximized his role "as arbiter of what is acceptable and what is not"<sup>36</sup> is responsible for this form of child suffocation. By defining the limits of learning to be the boundary of the textbook chapter or the end of his own understanding the teacher separates teaching from learning and regards the students' questions and observations as time consuming and impertinent.

It is not uncommon, for example, to hear "teachers" make statements such as, "Oh, I taught them that, but they didn't learn it." There is no utterance made in the Teacher's Room more extraordinary than this. From our point of view, it is on the same level as a salesman's remarking, "I sold it to him, but he didn't buy it" - which is to say, it makes no sense.<sup>37</sup>

One of the great ironies about the whole process is that the school curriculum is largely designed to prevent students from knowing themselves and the content of world outside in any real sense. Academic survival requires that the student become schizophrenic, be interested in what bores him, and pretend that the problems which are bothering him don't bother him while he is in school finding the "correct" answers for questions the teacher thinks are important problems. There is no way for a student to become an aggressive, independent inquirer who knows

how to learn unless he is engaged in learning what he perceives to be worth knowing, in solving problems that he perceives as being such and unless he actively participates in deciding how the problem is to be solved. Here even the work of Jerome Bruner is lacking. Bruner has done much to describe how problems are solved, that is, how people come to know something, but he has not dealt with the question "What is worth knowing?," from the point of view of the learner.<sup>38</sup> In In Defense of Youth, Earl Kelly lists five possible answers, although there are others that one can find if concerned with what people need to thrive.<sup>39</sup> They are:

1. The need for other people
2. The need for good communications with other people
3. The need for loving relationships with other people
4. The need for a workable concept of self
5. The need for freedom.

"The need to know how to learn" might be added here, or the "new fundamentals" might be expressed differently, as in Fantini and Weinstein's list of primary concerns. Students, they say, are concerned with personal identity, connectedness with others, and a sense of control over their own lives.<sup>40</sup> If learning contributes to these vital understandings and skills it is "real" to the students. As an end in itself, reading is not needed by the student. If it is a means to learn something he wants to know he will learn how to read. This is the important lesson A.S. Neill demonstrates in Summerhill. Coercion kills curiosity. Curiosity is natural to the uninhibited child. Only when adults penalize curiosity, create guilt and fear where there should be

joy and a sense of power, do children stop learning what life has to offer. Teachers who are trapped in rigid categories of thinking talk about "subjects" as if they were discrete entities, closed systems of fixed and structured bits of data. Knowledge is "out there". The children are expected to "see" exactly what the teacher tells them to see because that is the nature of the "subject". And yet, the scientist will tell us that we do not observe the "nature" of anything. We see nature exposed to our methods of questioning and assign meanings and structure to what we observe. No one has the final word, though perceptions may be verified as being relatively closer to or further from reality. Relationships that have never been perceived before, data as yet undiscovered, can revolutionize ways of categorizing and describing reality. The student encountering the omniscient teacher with the "authoritative" text never dares to let his own imagination work.

The present school environment is hard on white students who do, at least, have an economic stake in the degree and who are socialized in the home for the environment of the school. Afro-American students have a much harder time functioning in the school environment. For them, school is particularly painful and joyless and keenly irrelevant to what they have learned, how they have learned and what they want to know. This is not to say that a child's perception of what is relevant is a fixed given; it is to emphasize that learning takes place when something becomes meaningful to the learner. To extend the child's



perception of what is relevant and what is not, to increase his ability to see the world meaningfully, one has to start with his perceptions and concerns, for these condition what he will learn. Education has proved to be an alienating experience even for those children who are familiar with the game being played and socialized to experience anxiety when they do not play it successfully. To black children the school is a hostile place, they do not learn what the school says it "teachos" and they drop out or are ejected from their seats as soon as this is legally possible. Those who remain are compelled, most times, to commit emotional and intellectual suicide.

Margaret Mead, in an article titled "Our Educational Emphases in Primitive Perspective", wrote that, in its broadest sense, "education is the cultural process,"

the way in which each newborn human infant, born with a potentiality for learning greater than that of any mammal, is transformed into a full member of a specific human society, sharing with the other members a specific human culture.<sup>41</sup>

Comparing education in relatively homogeneous, slow-changing societies to education in the United States, Mead points out that these "primitive" societies did not have a concept of assimilation or conversion. When a person came, through marriage or relationship, to join a different cultural group it was his job to learn how to live there. With the advent of the idea of Truth "as a revelation to or possession of some one group", the framework is present for active proselytizing, unless the group which considers itself in possession of the most superior brand

of religious or economic truth is limited by heredity. Education becomes a concern of those who teach rather than those who learn and adults as well as children must be indoctrinated by those who "know" the superior culture. In stratified societies the matter is complicated. Knowledge insures status and gives one upper mobility. Conversely, education is used by the dominant caste or class to maintain the status quo. It is used as "an adjunct of the group in power rather than as a privilege for those who learn".<sup>42</sup> The native learns in colonial education what the colonizer wants him to learn in order to further the economic profitability of the colony. Education in the United States, Dr. Mead explains, has been influenced by the articulate need to assimilate masses of European immigrants. The school, then, ceased to be an institution in which children were taught accumulated knowledge or skills and became a "political device for arousing and maintaining national loyalty through inculcating a language and a system of ideas which the pupils did not share with their parents".<sup>43</sup> Thus, for the immigrant the object of education was to create discontinuities between parents and children, for the dominant group it was to act as a bolster for tottering continuities. A direct result of this is the educational system's emphasis upon change and what is done to people rather than upon growth and what people do. Changing people's habits, people's ideas, people's language, people's beliefs, people's emotional allegiances, involves a sort of deliberate violence to other people's developed personalities...<sup>44</sup> This type of change is produced by bullying or

cajoling the child and explains the regimentation, indoctrination and manipulation which are traditional in the American classroom. Education has been even more deadly for the Afro-American. His habits, ideas, language, beliefs and emotional allegiances have been relegated to the bottom of the cultural hierarchy, if given that much legitimacy. Moreover, while being coerced to adopt "white" American ways he is told that try as he may, he is too incompetent to learn them. In other words, the Negro is to keep his place on the bottom and believe in the system that tells him he belongs there.

Linguistic representation of reality is metaphorical. The word is not the thing, we use it to describe or symbolize. The structure of language contains a built-in bias about the nature of the world and its contents. Just as two individuals can look at the "same thing" and see "different things", languages use metaphors and sentence structure to express a cultural Weltanschauung. Visual perception has been studied by Adelbert Ames in the laboratory (1938) and important applications to the areas of social psychology and education have been made by Hadley Cantril, John Dewey, and Earl Kelly. The most important facts uncovered by the work of Ames is that perceptions come from us, not from the "things" around us.<sup>45</sup> We can never get outside of our own skins to know reality directly. Whatever is "out there" is known as it is filtered through a human nervous system. Secondly, what you perceive is largely a function of previous experiences, your assumptions and your wants.

We bargain, in a highly complex manner, with what is outside of our skins. Third, we are unlikely to alter our perceptions until we are frustrated in the attempt to do something based on them. If our actions seem to "work" for us, we will not change our perceptions even if told that they are "wrong". If frustrated in the attempt to act on perceptions, we then have available the alternative of relinquishing an inappropriate perception and of developing a more workable perception. Fourth, based on his experience, senses, and needs, each individual will perceive the world uniquely. Communication is possible to the degree that two perceivers have similar purposes, assumptions and experiences. Becoming self-conscious corresponds to developing the capacity to see from another's point of view. Fifth, the differences we have in perception are reflected in what we do. Perceptions are manifested in action. Sixth, perception is a function of the conceptual categories available in the language of the perceiver. Nature never repeats exactly or standardizes. We do it through the imposition of categories and classifications.

In view of all of this, it can be said that people are more than passive receivers of subject matter; they are actually "meaning-makers", to use Postman and Weingartner's stimulating term. What the learner hears is what he learns, not what the teacher says. Therefore, teachers should spend a lot more time finding out what pupils hear. The studies on teacher expectations are also related to perception. Teachers



who have been told that a random sample of students would make dramatic gains in school work begin to look at these children as intelligent because they are expecting to see "intelligent behavior". The children, in turn, change their perceptions of themselves in accordance with the positive expectations of their teachers. The result is a dramatic gain in academic achievement! It is likely that if teachers were to look at their students with the respect due to "meaning-makers", if lessons were about the perceptions of the learners and the way in which students see "things" was the content, there would be little motivation problem in the classroom.

The studies in perception demonstrate that people do not "get" meaning from things, they assign meaning. This is similar to the idea in African philosophy which says the Muntu with the power of Nommo (the word) designates meaning by naming things. The characteristics which we attribute to the universe are consequences of the methods of coding reality embodied in our language system. Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf studied the language system of different cultures and concluded that each language represents by its structure and lexicon a unique way of perceiving reality. This hypothesis is a different way of saying what McLuhan meant when he said that the "medium is the message". Language (in this case the medium) is inseparable from what one sees and believes. Language transmits the collective experience of a group and shapes the assumptions and perceptions of its speakers. It must be reckoned with in education for it determines what people can learn. For example,

most of what we call "knowledge" is actually language. A "subject" or academic discipline is a language. The words which symbolize what we perceive are organized by categorical labels like Chemistry or Biology. A whole new language has had to be invented to represent what we now perceive as biochemical processes. A new language means new possibilities of perception.

Afro-Americans speak a unique language which expresses a special way of looking at the world. Therefore, a pre-condition for the successful formal education of black children is that new learning must grow out of the perceptions already conditioned by the language they speak. The resulting psychological continuity between the home and school will contribute to the revitalization of Afro-American culture. Children are not tabula rasas when they enter the school. The consideration given their perceptions of the world as they have been determined by their cultural experience with reality will insure that education does not become a means to castrate their intelligence and destroy their self-confidence. By becoming aware of their own perceptions and system of thought they become open to the possibility of changing perceptions which are dysfunctional or of adding new perceptions which make things more meaningful. Respect for one's own language is vital to a sense of identity, connectedness and power over one's destiny. One's language establishes who one is in relationship to the social

and physical environment, connects one by the bonds of communication to the members of one's cultural group and provides the conceptual seeds of action in the face of the problems.

Lower scores of black children on I.Q. tests are not cultural differences. They are manifestations of cultural difference-the dialect, rhetorical style, epistemology and response styles of the distinctive black culture.<sup>46</sup> They measure the degree to which Afro-Americans share elements of mainstream culture, not the potential for learning it. I.Q.'s measure one cultural manifestation of universal human behaviors. There is nothing "universal" about the normative criterion used by social and behavioral science to assess behavior. Learning competence should be defined as the capacity to generate the patterns of behavior necessary for keeping a person maximally adapted to his environment (this involves modifying the environment too) while maintaining a set of beliefs and attitudes about himself that facilitate further growth. The suppression of Afro-American culture has distorted and limited the outlines of adaptive design but has not destroyed its vital capacity for adaption. Educational psychologists have come up with the notion of "culturally derived learning disorders" to explain why black children get low I.Q. scores or do not learn to read well in the school. Rather than deal with their own culturally derived ethnocentricity, these educators see Afro-American culture as something to be eliminated.

The role of the child's own language behavior in the process of learning to read has been discussed thoroughly in Teaching Black Children to Read, edited by Baratz and Shuy. (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969). Once children learn to read what they speak, the word-reading skills acquired can be transferred to learning "standard" English by teaching it as a foreign language. The nonstandard speech patterns of Afro-Americans are coming to be recognized by linguists "as perfectly normal dialect forms which are just as much the product of systematic (though formally unspecified) linguistic rules as are the speech patterns of whites."<sup>47</sup> The "interference" of the familiar language pattern in the production of the unfamiliar pattern is the reason black school-age children have difficulty learning to read as it is now taught. Far more important than the difference in phonetics are the differences in grammatical patterns and idioms. Even speakers of standard English have to cope with sound-spelling-meaning irregularities when they are learning to read. Thus, most words in dialect can be spelled in standard English though the sound-spelling correspondances may be different. The failure to pronounce a final "ed" when reading aloud does not mean that the black child has missed the past-tense meaning of the written verb. In most cases it is the teacher who has missed the meaning of the dialect pronunciation.

Some of the grammatical differences between Afro-American English and mainstream English are transformationally



derived.<sup>48</sup> For example, question-type inversion is encountered in Negro speech where standard English uses "if" with no inversion. See can he go means the same thing as See if he can go. Or, multiple negation is used in Afro-American speech whereas standard English has single negation. The correspondance may be less clear when a standard-English construction resembles a dialect construction other than the one to which it is functionally equivalent. Although the standard English His eye's open is equivalent to His eye open in Negro dialect, it resembles in form the dialect sentence His eyes open (with the meaning). Other grammatical differences are more subtle and "originate deeper in the respective grammars than do differences of the preceding type".<sup>49</sup> These differences may not have one-to-one correlations and may use different perceptual information in representing reality. In Afro-American English be has an entirely different meaning than is, but in standard English there is no such grammatical distinction. He be busy and He be working indicate an extended or repeated state or action. The absence of this be indicates that the state or action is immediate or momentary, e.g. He busy, He workin'. Standard English has only one equivalent for the two grammatical constructions of Negro dialect, e.g. He is busy, He is working. Duration or immediacy are left unspecified. William A. Steward's article, "Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading"<sup>50</sup> discusses these and other complications involved in teaching black children who do speak the dialect to read, including the resistance

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of middle-class blacks to the use of non-standard materials on the grounds that written dialect materials are insulting.

The use of Afro-American English in the teaching of reading has two advantages for the black child. First, it will facilitate his learning to read standard English and open up a cultural choice. Secondly, it will promote his self-respect and his awareness of the meanings transmitted by his own language. A language of action, of process and relationship, rather than of fixed categories and sequences; a language in which nouns and adjectives tend to imply verbs rather than things or static conditions, and fresh metaphors which make one see and feel are used to relate the listener to the thing "out there"; Afro-American speech is a richly creative representation of reality. Studied from a cultural perspective, the language carries in it nuances and connotative meanings that tell the story of the Afro-American people and their struggle for wholeness while withstanding the contradictions of American life. New words and ways of using old words, forged because there were thoughts that no one else in America had or would express, conceal a valuation of the American experience that is insightful and needed.

#### MOTTO

I play it cool  
And dig all jive-  
That's the reason  
I stay alive

My motto,  
As I live and learn  
Is  
"Dig and be dug"  
In return.

DOWN WHERE I AM

Too many years  
Beatin' at the door-  
I done beat my  
Both fists sore.

Too many years  
Tryin' to get up there-  
Done broke my ankles down,  
Got nowhere.

Too many years  
Climbin' that hill,  
'Bout out of breath.  
I got my fill.

I'm gonna plant my feet  
On solid ground.  
If you want to see me,  
Come down.

(Italics in the originals). Poems by Langston Hughes, The Panther and the Lash: Poems of Our Times, (Knopf, New York, 1969), p. 11, p. 50.

Culture and Education

If black children repeatedly fail to "take advantage of the opportunity" to learn provided by the school they are written off as ineducable. The assumption is made that students who fail do not have cognitive and affective competencies needed to learn. Therefore, the child must be changed by such techniques as have been developed for this purpose, i.e., contingency management, behavior modification, early childhood intervention



or whatever. The wild flowering of discontent in the black community with American education has brought forth a new proposal. Let the institutions adjust to people rather than the other way around.

The work of Allison Davis and John Dollard, the authors of Children of Bondage, is important in that they have discussed the differences in socialization between lower-class and middle-class black children and their respective attitudes toward school learning.<sup>51</sup> However, where Davis and Dollard see the differences as primarily a question of poverty vs. affluence, that is, as a question of class, we would stress the differences in culture. After all, money can "buy" white culture. Sociologists speak of the lower-class black child as being "unsocialized" from their middle-class point of view. Three fourths of the Negro population is lower-class according to income and occupation indicators. With less involvement in the institutions and behaviors of the dominant society, the majority of the Afro-American population is less acculturated to mainstream ways than those who are classified as middle-class. Davis and Dollard, without a cultural perspective, recognize differences in socialization but still are limited to recommendations which define learning by the norms of behavior upheld by a "school culture" which is white. They suggest that the school be more tolerant of the "failure" of black children and reward the efforts which they make to conform to the desired behaviors. But they do not attempt to redefine the norms. What

they propose is that the school recognize the differences and help the child to adjust to the norms with positive reinforcement, approval and friendship. No doubt, tolerating the aggressiveness and hostility of the students toward school and the society which the school represents instead of punishing it would improve the environment. Smiling teachers would be more pleasant than scowling ones. But, we doubt that such tolerance could amount to much more than insidious condenscension or a frozen, tense gesture unless the teacher was able to identify with the cultural repertoire of the students.

The set of learnings which the child acquires before he enters the classroom are his basic tools for dealing with reality and adapting to new realities. They include aggressive-defensive devices developed under the conditions of subordination which are very real threats to the Afro-American's integrity, a communication system which patterns adult-child relationships and those between peers, distinct interests and ways of playing, and a style of learning. It is not the beliefs, attitudes, ways of thinking and behaving of black children that preclude their development in the schools. It is, rather, that the school offers an innappropriate learning process. For instance, "sitting still" while the teacher dispenses information for hours on end is the white way of doing things. The "problem" of eye-avertance encountered by white teachers of black children is often interpreted by the teacher as a sign that something sneaky has been going on or

that the student is being "disrespectful". Actually, "in many Negro communities young children have learned that meeting an older person's gaze is a sign of hostility or defiance".<sup>52</sup> The assumption is made that black children lack psycho-motor competence, that they cannot concentrate, cannot discriminate, or that they see less more slowly than middle-class children. Actually, the child may be perceiving far more than what the teacher is saying. Their out-of-school imitations of the teacher can be brilliant. With more stimuli in the home due to crowded quarters and a different style of life, black children may be more selective and discriminating with respect to those activities or things that interest them than the white child. Cognitive operations may be developed in different ways, but the specialist who is ignorant about black culture will insist that blacks are lacking in cognitive competencies such as memory, vocabulary, categorizing, translating from one symbolic form to another, analyzing, synthesizing and interpreting data, extrapolating, speculating, forming and testing hypotheses or transferring knowledge. These abilities depend on verbal abilities but educators know very little about the verbal resources of the black child. This brings us to an ethnocentric assumption commonly made by teachers, that black children are not verbal in class because they "come from families with so many children that there isn't any time for communication with their parents".<sup>53</sup> This attitude is based on the assumption that only communication between adults and children is useful for educa-

tional development. Children who are not from middle-class homes where mothers sit at home all day are placed at a disadvantage by teachers who have this idea. Black children are taught to respect the working parent's need for rest and quiet but they develop a vivid sense of the power of words from social interaction with other children. Younger children are placed in the care of older ones, in street play older children teach the younger verbal and motor play routines. Banter, taunt, story-telling, jokes, songs, and other types of oral performances and contest situations develop a sense of self vocabulary, esteem, the pleasure of playing with words, memory and other skills. This factor is usually disregarded in the classroom where the children find that the language skills they have learned are "despised as substandard and performed in a manner that is regarded as hostile, obscene, or arrogant".<sup>54</sup> They learn that the best way to get by in the school is to be quiet while the teacher treats words as if they were things made out of chalk or ink instead of speech devices and records of speech events.

In the realm of affective or emotional competencies white experts again find black children wanting. Much of the blame for what they perceive as inadequacies is placed on an equally distorted perception - what is regarded as the "disorganized" Negro family. The Moynihan Report, a governmental polemic which has subsequently been published and which has effected both governmental policy and public opinion in matters



concerning blacks, sums up the ideas and data of a generation of scholars. The liberal intent of the report, to provide a rationale whereby Civil Rights efforts would be built into government programs aimed at blacks, should not obscure the ethnocentricity of the assumptions it sets forth. The social and economic resources that might have been made available to the individual black family as a result of Moynihan's efforts in 1964-65 would have been needed and helpful. The white-backlash to the open-housing drive of the Civil Rights Movement, the series of Watts' across the country, and the rise of the banner of "black power", as well as the increasing escalation of the war in Vietnam resulted in the Johnson administration moving away from the war on poverty. From the spring of 1966 on, the demise of OEO could be predicted. The misuse of the report in public conflicts had a greater impact than did Moynihan's suggestion that more jobs be provided for black men. For example, school board lawyers used the data on Negro family instability to defend school boards against charges of inferior education through de facto segregated public schools.

The sweeping conclusion that Moynihan comes to in the report is clear in its opening statement:

At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. It is the fundamental source of weakness of the Negro community at the present time.

Unless this damage (the deterioration of the Negro family) is repaired, all the effort to end discrimination and poverty and injustice will come to little...

The white family has achieved a high degree of stability and is maintaining that stability.

By contrast, the family structure of lower class Negroes is highly unstable, and in many urban centers is approaching complete breakdown.<sup>56</sup>

Although the data from which this conclusion is drawn is weak and insufficient it has been seized on by journalists to proclaim loudly that Negro family instability is a basic cause of the deprivation which the Negro experiences and of the "pathological" character of Negro employment, educational failure, and temperment. Black children are said to have no males to model their behavior after in the "matriarchal" Negro society, no one to guide them, love them, discipline them and motivate them. Thus, they become hostile, criminal, seek immediate gratification because they are insecure, and are so alienated that they do not seek work or are incapable of holding a job. The cycle of poverty gains momentum - the adult has a litter of illegitimate brats and they repeat the syndrome. "The major qualification - the bow to egalitarianism - is that these conditions are said to grow out of the Negro's history of being enslaved and oppressed-generations ago".<sup>57</sup> No the Negro is not inherently inferior, he has acquired his weaknesses from a tradition of what Moynihan labels "family instability" and the "tangle of pathology". Moynihan uses the "Sambo thesis" of Stanley Elkins as an important point of reference. All this is an ingenious way of avoiding responsibility for the oppressive conditions the Negro has to cope with today, in our lifetime - criminally inadequate housing, poor education, discriminatory hiring and firing, lack of medical care, and continuous insult.

The major premise of the paper is not even supported by fact. Illegitimacy looms large in the Moynihan Report as the prime index of "family breakdown". Yet, additional data makes the 3% (per cent) rate for whites and the 22% (per cent) illegitimacy rate for blacks attributable to other causes than Negro family instability. First, white illegitimate births are significantly underreported. Sympathetic white doctors and social service agencies often help the white unmarried mother conceal the fact of illegitimacy. Secondly, white parents may have "shot-gun marriages", but these are less frequent among Negroes because of the man's financial insecurity. Third, the overwhelming majority of abortions are had by white women. Fourth, white women have more access to contraceptive services. Fifth, white babies that are "illegitimate" frequently get adopted. Black babies "go on" AFDC. Another fantastic error is pointed out by William Ryan.<sup>58</sup> This is to say that white families are so very stable. "White divorce rates have zoomed almost 800% (per cent) in less than 100 years, and white illegitimacy has increased more than 50% (per cent) in the last twenty-five years - a rate of increase greater than that of Negroes". Moynihan's narrow framework for evaluating family stability is further criticized by Andrew Billingsley in his book, Black Families in White America. Billingsley presents a sociological analysis of the Negro family which is very different from Moynihan's<sup>59</sup> and which emphasizes its flexibility.

First, the female-headed family is not peculiar to black people. There were approximately four million white single-parent families and about one million Negro single-parent families in 1966 according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Then, as Billingsley points out, the prevalence and consequences of female-headed families, are distorted and exaggerated by the obscure characterization of the "matriarchal" family. Negro family structure is much more resilient, complex and adaptive, varying in range and composition, than is usually acknowledged by the interpreters of social statistics. Roughly two-thirds of all Negro families are nuclear families. Nuclear families include those with husband and wife but no children - the incipient nuclear family, the simple nuclear family consisting of husband and wife and children, and the attenuated nuclear family which has one parent and children with no other persons present. Nearly a fifth of all Negro families are incipient nuclear families. Nationally, about 36% (per cent) of all Negro families are of the simple nuclear type, a figure probably greater than the national percentage for all American families. Only six per cent of all Negro families are of the attenuated variety - some of these are headed by a single parent, others are married with an absent spouse, divorced, widowed or legally separated. The second major category of family structures introduces other relatives into the nuclear household, making it an extended family. The incipient, simple nuclear or attenuated family may add relatives who are minors, cousins and siblings of the pri-



mary parents, elders of the primary parents - particularly aunts and uncles, or parents of the primary parents. Among the husband and wife families with children of their own, in 1965 26.7% (per cent) had one or more additional relatives living with them in their house. Most of the attenuated families had another relative living with them. Furthermore, some of these relatives come with their spouse or children and are thus, subfamilies, many of these being young families living with relatives until they can make it on their own. The third major type of family is the augmented family, in which unrelated individuals such as boarders, roomers, or lodgers are long-term guests. In 1965 nearly a half-million Negro persons were living with family groups with whom they were not related.

This variety in Negro family structure, some forms of which may even be adaptations of African patterns, shows the strength of relationship in the Negro family and its ability to adapt and survive oppression and restricted economic and societal support. Contrary to the Moynihan Report the black child does have a well developed male role image, gained from fathers, uncles, grandfathers, older brothers, cousins, friends, boarders and neighbors. In addition, mothers can and do socialize the male by inverse role-modeling, that is by projecting expectations of "masculine" behavior.

One of the important changes in education for black children must be the development of an educational process that

builds on the strengths developed by the black family. Dr. James Comer of the Yale Child Study Center praises the independence of the black child who fixes his own breakfast, stays home alone until his working parents get home, and knows how to take care of himself and his siblings.<sup>60</sup> The firmness and common-sense discipline of the black parent, Dr. Comer feels, is preferable to the way in which white parents "go by the book". One rarely sees a black child have a tantrum in the super-market. On the other hand, the strength of the child and the parents can be tested too far by poverty. Dr. Comer puts it simply, "People shouldn't have to climb Pike's Peak everyday just to get by". Also, being black requires constant learning "It is a constant challenge for Negro parents, at all levels of the ethnic subsociety, to teach their children how to be human and American and black and proud".<sup>61</sup> These conflicting demands are deep and intricate. How are "the ravages of self-hatred to be avoided when a parent may say to a child "It is not you who are bad", but when for the child's own physical and psychic safety, the obvious corollary, "It is they who are bad", cannot be taught?"<sup>62</sup> How does a parent teach the child a moral code which is also upheld by a socio-legal system that violates their basic human rights? Hiding the hate and fear that these dissonances create takes a costly toll of the child's personality.

Learning to live with the reality of being black and all that this means in a white society demands that the child be taught to separate being poor and being bad and being black

and being bad. It means that he must be prepared to deal with the hurt and painful experiences that life is surely going to bring him and that he must maintain a strong belief in the intrinsic worth of the self despite the external pressures which seek to fragment that internal security. It means that one must "overcome" depression, oppression, and endure adversity without becoming numbed by the pain and fear. The urban riots themselves belie the myth of black apathy. And the strength of the black family has made it possible for the individual to renew himself, transcend the suffering caused by white brutality, legalized robbery and institutionalized degradation, and enjoy his own creative capacities. Where the individual is not able to survive psychologically it is not that he is unable to bend, not because he is unable to behave in ways appropriate to a demanding social context, rather it is because he has been broken by a social context that is too demanding and is in fact antithetical to human survival. The heroic survival of the majority of black people is truly to be respected and admired.

I.Q. in schools is the critical metric on which individuals are sorted out and evaluated, given preferential treatment or denied it. And yet, besides the cultural bias inherent in a test involving the use of a language which is different from that which the child speaks, the I.Q. test is acknowledged by psychologists to be an inappropriate indicator of the vital gift of creativity and <sup>63</sup> the intellectual processes which contribute to its quality. The number of words an individual can define

may tell little about his ability to produce new forms and to restructure stereotypical situations. There is a difference between knowing and discovering, remembering and inventing, being "intelligent" and being "creative". To do well on a typical I.Q. test one must be able to recall and recognize what has already been learned and to solve problems that have already been answered. One does not necessarily have to be inventive or innovative. Discovering as well as recalling is learning. The creative person is generally self-reliant, seeing reality with his own eyes and not through the eyes of others. The direction of his efforts should be the natural expression of his own gifts and interests. An important aspect of creative behavior is spontaneity. "Spontaneity is the moment of personal freedom from imposed interpretations when we are confronted with a reality, see it, explore it and act accordingly." In this reality the bits and pieces of ourselves function as an organic whole and we are totally involved in experiencing. This psychological freedom to encounter reality freshly creates a condition in which "strain and conflict are dissolved and potentialities are released in the spontaneous effort to meet the demands of the situation".<sup>64</sup> The willingness to face the unknown, even the desire, so that the unexpressed potential of one's self can be developed leads to the possibility of growth and learning. The teacher who tries to force the child into molds, teach by formula, or gives a diluted, abstract concept of experience which must be accepted unquestioningly at the risk of losing



approval dulls his students and shuts off their centers of creativity and inspiration. It may well be that the "rebellious ones" are the freest and potentially the most creative if that freedom from authoritative control can become energy dedicated to constructive activity which whets the curiosity, brings a joy to the learner and gives him a greater sense of identity, connectedness with others and power over his destiny.

Afro-American culture is a highly creative adaption to the environment in which black people find themselves and it fosters in the individual an ability to transcend the conditions of bondage and deprivation. "Man plans and God unplans" is a folk adage which expresses the state of readiness one must be in for the unexpected. Because the black community is vulnerable, the individual must have emotional flexibility and "mother-wit" to survive. Humor is a powerful device to preserve sanity. It allows one to express dissatisfaction, hostility and aggression where otherwise it might be repressed. Music can serve the same function. Transcendent behavior, which reflects creative resources, is "the demonstration in the realm of the possible of what had been considered impossible".<sup>65</sup> One characteristic mode of effective transcendence is the reconciliation of conflicts, contradictions or dilemmas. The importance of problems or "tests" in growth and the deprivation the healthy individual experiences as a result of too little stimulation or challenge are tenets upheld in psychological theory.<sup>66</sup>

On the other hand the individual also will seek release from irreconcilable contradictions and overwhelming challenges in his environment. Men are prone to contend with contradictions, and to reach out toward their reconciliation, a mark of growth. Jourard and Overlade say this about reconciliation:

The reconciliation of contradictions yields a higher-order vantage point that subordinates and allows for both wings of a dilemma. Reconciliation of the contradiction of dominance and submission, for example, may entail subordination of both to some less absolute concept, like competition with self...such reconciliation permits one to cope more adequately with problems than was possible prior to the reconciliation.<sup>67</sup>

By virtue of being black the Afro-American has had less possibility of avoiding the reality of conflict and contradiction. His basic survival has been conditional on his ability to cope with conflict situations that threaten biological well-being. He must meet face to face social prohibitions, moral contradictions, and imposed standards of behavior that threaten his physical and psychological integrity. The premium put on survival and "making it", both emotionally and materially, by the culture is an indication of the Afro-American's continual struggle. The jokes, toasts, stories, sermons and "talking much stuff" conversations of black folk are full of tales of one who overcomes a challenge in an ingenious, persistent or inspirational manner. Reconciliatory ideas in both religious and secular life have provided the momentum needed for movement to change the "givens" of a dilemma. "Freedom", "Liberation", "Soul", "Black Power" and "Pan-Africanism" are concepts that transform and

transcend the stereotyped polarities of the racial conflict. The "up-ending" of expectancies can precipitate an enlarged orientation or outlook. Jourard and Overlade state a postulate: "the organism constructs generalizations for purposes of orienting itself in its environment. Such orientation is mediated by means of expectancies or predictions". When the prevailing generalizations are challenged "an opportunity is then provided for transitions to more encompassing generalizations".<sup>68</sup> The following poem by Langston Hughes shows the way in which many black people have creatively reconciled the contradiction between the expected and unexpected after their rising hopes for integration and equality in American life during the early sixties were dimmed by the intransigence of whites. It is an invocation of a reality yet to be actualized.

#### THE BACKLASH BLUES

Mister Backlash, Mister Backlash,  
Just who do you think I am?  
Tell me, Mister Backlash,  
Who do you think I am?  
You raise my taxes, freeze my wages,  
Send my son to Vietnam.

You give me second-class houses.  
Give me second-class schools,  
Second-class houses  
And second-class schools.  
You must think us colored folks  
Are second-class fools.

When I try to find a job  
To earn a little cash,  
All you got to offer  
Is a white backlash.

But the world is big,  
The world is big and round,  
Great big world, Mister Backlash,  
Big and bright and round-  
And it's full of folks like me who are  
Black, Yellow, Beige, and Brown.

Mister Backlash, Mister Backlash,  
What you think I got to lose?  
Tell me, Mister Backlash,  
What you think I got to lose?  
I'm gonna leave you, Mister Backlash,  
Singing your mean old backlash blues.

You're the one  
Yes, you're the one  
Will have the blues.

(Italicized in the original). "Words on Fire", The Panther and the Lash, (Knopf, New York, 1969), pp. 8-9.

On the individual level, a new idea or the emergence of one that is latent in the cultural heritage - becomes manifest in a transition to a higher degree of appreciation and expression of one's own resources. Imposed stereotypical beliefs about one's personal limitations are extinguished, permitting latent beliefs of greater adequacy to come to the forefront of awareness. The person "comes into his own" and experiments with the possibilities of the new idea or larger view, with the possibility of transcending reality as known and of becoming more than a simple creature of conformity or rebellion. One has to "comprehend the perspective in his own terms and go through the experience of reconciling the contradictions for himself".<sup>69</sup> If education for black children can permit them the freedom to reconcile the conflicts that plague their lives and the opportunity, then, to make oneself understandable to



others in the class and community who are likewise involved in finding new possibilities of acting in a useful way, the school will have become functionally responsible to the needs of Afro-Americans. The school which facilitates the individual's attempt to reconcile the large contradictions he is wrestling with will be fostering the realization of genius. And because these problems are not caused by individuals or only affect isolated individuals, rather, they are the concerns of the black community as a whole, the contributions of talent must be tested and confirmed by that community and must be complemented by other talents in order to be socially effective. The black community is oppressed. It should not be and cannot remain so. This is the decisive conflict expressed in Afro-American culture. How this is to be resolved and by what means is the problem with which education for black people must deal. The very fact of presenting the challenge will confirm the black child's idea that he is not helpless. His independence, his assertiveness and his creativity, his own self-expressive themes, will be channeled into productive response and mutuality with his fellows. Education will no longer alienate but will exist to reconstruct and rebuild, to execute the Afro-American's legacy.

### CHAPTER III.

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C H A P T E R   I V .  
C U L T U R E   A N D   S O C I A L   C H A N G E

The Colonial Analogy

The development of a national consciousness among black people is continuing. The quest for the "real" dimensions of a self-defining Afro-American culture is taking place. However, a Romantic Nationalism, providing culturally-derived symbols around which the people may rally will not sustain a cultural revitalization unless the traditions, values and myths of the past are synthesized with the economic, political and social needs of the present. Reaffirming and refurbishing Afro-American culture requires collaborative political and economic change. The struggle of a people for the political, economic and social conditions that will enable it to exist and prosper demands that the bases of the cultural heritage be widened boundlessly, diversified and directed in order to clarify action. The culture is changed as a result of the process of conscious and organized struggle. The people's aspirations take form, new institutions are created and new human possibilities are sighted, for the oppressed man no longer exists. On the other hand it is the values of the cultural tradition which have ordained the struggle for freedom.

The work of Franz Fanon illuminates the stages by which revolutionary change in colonized societies develops. The colonization of Africa, about which he wrote, is an accepted part of history. The application of the colonial analysis to

black-white relations in the United States has not been so easily accepted. The camouflaging mythology of the American melting-pot and the verbal concessions offered to Afro-Americans which declare that they too can be assimilated; the territorial question that portrays colonialism as simply the occupation of a foreign land by an invading power; and the attempt to deny the reality of a distinct Afro-American cultural heritage have all tended to obscure the application of the colonial model to the internal condition of the U.S. However, the difference in social status between an Afro-American and a black South African is one of degree and not kind. As Kenneth Clark wrote:

The dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society, by those who have power, both to confine those who have no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness. The dark ghettos are social, political, educational, and above all - economic colonies. Their inhabitants are victims of the greed, cruelty, insensitivity, guilt, and fear of their masters.<sup>1</sup>

The basic difference which separates the Afro-American's status from that of a pure colonial status is that his position is maintained in the home country of the dominant racial group and he maintains a legal half-way citizenship within the nation's boundaries. As Cruse puts it, "This is much more than a problem of racial discrimination; it is a problem of political, economic, cultural, and administrative underdevelopment".<sup>2</sup>

The use of the analogy of colonialism to clarify the "American Dilemma" is not perfect. For example, the colonized

in this case, Afro-Americans, do not export cheap raw materials for the mother country to process and sell at high profit. But Afro-Americans do, like the African colonials, sell their labor cheaply. The objective economic relationship stands. For a few dollars a day the Southern black cultivates cotton and then buys his clothing, food and other commodities from white manufacturers. In the cities, blacks are unemployed, under-employed and dependent economically on white capital. Whites come into the ghetto from outside, make their money and split. Social welfare agencies operate like the missionaries of Africa, perpetuating dependency with paternalistic "uplift" while making healthy salaries for their efforts. Property and stores are mostly owned by whites. Banks are controlled by whites as well. Bars, concessions and places of entertainment are likewise owned, for the most part, by those who live outside the community and take their profits home - perhaps to the suburbs, leaving the cities to "die" an unnatural, slow death. Low income and exploitative credit terms drain the community of resources. The black community is ultimately controlled by an established system of vested interests that use the political machinery of the city, state and national governments to protect the status quo.

The police, the city services, the schools, and even the black politician who is responsible to the white political machine all are controlled by the dominant white community and therefore are not able to serve the interests of the black community. Carmichael and Hamilton have discussed the colonial sta-



tus of black people in great detail.<sup>3</sup> They point out an aspect of colonial politics which is frequently found in colonial Africa and in the United States. This is the process of indirect rule. Blacks who are beholden to the white power structure such as black school teachers, county agents, junior executives and city politicians are frequently unable to hold their positions unless they "play ball" with the establishment. They will not take a risk and they cannot, then, be relied upon to make forceful demands in behalf of their own community. Congressman William O. Dawson of Chicago was a case in point, as described in Silberman's Crisis in Black and White:

Chicago provides an excellent example of how Negroes can be co-opted into inactivity... Dawson surrendered far more than he has obtained for the Negro community. What Dawson obtained were the traditional benefits of the big-city political machine: low-paying jobs for a lot of followers: political intervention with the police and with bail bondsmen, social workers, housing officials, and other bureaucrats whose decisions can affect a poor constituent's life; and a slice of the "melon" in the form of public housing projects, welfare payments, and the like.

What Dawson surrendered was the pride and dignity of his community; he threw away the opportunity to force Chicago's political and civic leaders to identify and deal with the fundamental problems of segregation and oppression.<sup>4</sup>

As Carmichael and Hamilton write, "It may well be - and we think it is - that leadership and security are basically incompatible. When one forcefully challenges the racist system, one cannot, at the same time, expect that system to reward him or even to treat him comfortably".<sup>5</sup> The "Black Caucus" plan devised by

Julian Bond has been unsuccessful thus for the same reason - local black politicians put loyalty to the policy of a political party before loyalty to their constituents and thus nullify any bargaining power the black community might develop.

The balkanization of Africa into small states which would be politically and economically unviable was one of the legacies of the colonial period. Nkrumah points out that even after nominal independence was achieved, most of the "autonomous Republics" have had to maintain the military, financial, commercial and economic links of the previous colonial period.<sup>6</sup> Where black people in the United States could vote, the same effect has been achieved by manipulating political boundaries and devising restrictive electoral systems. These are some of the economic and political techniques of colonialism. The deculturation of the colonized people is another facet of social domination. The blunt disparagement of the African heritage, the oversimplification of distinctive cultural manifestations by the attitude of exotic interest and commercial exploitation, and the identification of imposed institutions and social habits with rational superiority, create a psychological dead-end. The only acceptable way out of the degrading status is to become "white" or assimilated. To the extent that the black man succeeds in adopting white customs, dress, language, and ideas, he is considered "well adjusted". He is expected to "rise above the race question", to be an example of the progress of the society in eliminating the race problem, to pacify the black community, and

to use his talents like any other white man, that is to perpetuate the exploitation of the "underdeveloped" here and abroad.

The one thing it is certain that black Americans have in common with the other colored peoples of the world is the common experience of subjugation for the material aggrandizement of white people. In Black Man's Burden, John O. Killens concludes, "We have all been 'niggerized' on one level or another. And all of us are determined to 'deniggrize' the earth". Very simply, black people are only a minority if considered within the boundaries of the United States. And, individual African nations remain most vulnerable to the imperialist designs of Western capitalists so long as they are disunited. However, it is one thing to declare independence or liberation, another to develop the conditions which will constitute revolutionary changes in society.

Fanon was one who realized that vague cries for freedom, although they represent the stirring of nationalist sentiment, would never materialize substantially without an economic program, a doctrine concerning the division of wealth and social relations, and an idea of man and of the future of humanity. The vision of the people must be cultivated, he said, over a period of time so that they will not bite the bait, or let their leaders do so, of the concessions which an affluent colonial power can afford to make and turn towards its own profit. Neo-colonialism is just that kind of compromise. Like carpet-baggers,

Western invaders have invaded the newly independent African nations to build industrial projects that benefit a small African elite but do nothing to develop the over-all economy of the country and to satisfy the needs of the people. This get-rich-quick opportunity for the African middle-class vitiates the morale of the country as a whole by setting an example of individualistic concern. Unable to accumulate the capital necessary to create a genuine proletariat and give the nation a minimum of prosperity, this group is dependent on the dividends of the former colonial power and can only put away enough money to stiffen its own political domination. The market prices of "raw" materials produced in the country are still determined by the West, the profits of investments in Africa go largely to the West, and the prices at which Africa can buy what it needs are still high and regulated by the West.

Similarly, the black from New York who manages to become American and join an American business firm or work with the state department must co-operate in the exploitation of African cheap labor and free raw materials. The masses of Afro-Americans and Africans do not benefit from his success. Although struggles for partial and limited demands such as better housing conditions, more jobs, and better city services, more representation and better school facilities are important, a society in which there could exist honest white-black brotherhood will have to be constructed on the values of "free people", not "free enterprise", as Killens expresses it.<sup>8</sup> New institu-



tions, broad at the base, which are intended to foster the development of the people rather than to protect established and predatory interests will have to be sought. New ideas and values will have to gain legitimacy if something more than patchwork reforms are to take place. We should remember the warning of Dr. Martin Luther King. He said, to the extent that scientific power is out-distancing moral strength, we run a risk of reaching a point where missiles are guided and men are misguided. Reorientation will mean an emphasis on the dignity of man rather than the sanctity of property.

#### Black Power and Pan-Africanism

It is generally assumed that black people in America became interested in Africa only in recent years. This assumption is incorrect. Since the late eighteenth century a considerable number of Afro-Americans have decided to emigrate to Sierra Leone, Liberia and other parts of the continent. Free Negroes affixed the name "African" to their organizations, for example, the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1799), New York African Free School (1787), The Anglo-African Magazine (1859), and the African Grove Theatre. A commerce of ideas and politics between the descendents of slaves in the West Indies and America and their ancestral homeland has replaced the triangular trade which so profited the British Empire. George Shepperson has written an important article, "Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism" which considers the impact of this communication.<sup>9</sup> Afro-American churchmen such as Bishop Alexander Crummell, Bishop Henry

McNeal Turner, and Bishop Alexander Walters saw a role for Afro-Americans in Africa's future. Walters, of the A.M.E.Z. Church, took an active part in the first Pan-African Conference held in 1900. The efforts of Edward Blyden, born in St. Thomas in 1832 did much to stimulate the interest of Negro Americans in the fate of Africa. He came to New York in 1847, was refused admission to an American university on the basis of color, and emigrated to Liberia in 1850 to become a leading politician, educator and theorist of the "African personality". Between 1872 and 1888, Blyden visited America eleven times, warning Black Americans to see Africa through their own eyes and not through the eyes of European travellers. He never ceased hoping that a mass exodus of Negroes from America to Africa would take place.<sup>10</sup> Although his efforts at promoting Negro emigration to Africa were largely unsuccessful, he did succeed in dispelling myths about the continent, engendering pride in the past achievements of the race, and in asserting that the African must advance by methods of his own. In Blyden's own words:

We must show that we are able to go it alone, to carve our own way. We must not be satisfied that, in this nation (Liberia), European influence shapes our policy, makes our laws, rules in our tribunals, and impregnates our social atmosphere. We must not suppose that the Anglo-Saxon methods are final...We must study our brethren in the interior who knows more than we do the laws of the growth of the race.<sup>11</sup>

Blyden maintained that Europeans could be useful in Africa only if they attempted to understand and respect African customs and institutions. He admitted that some aspects of African life

needed reform but had insisted that even under European direction the basic African social system should remain in tact. He expected that as Africans became educated they would incorporate the best of the Western culture into the African culture and bring about a happy amalgam. Europeans would then no longer be needed. He used every opportunity to foster racial pride, initiative and unity among West Africans. Most of the post World War I African nationalists knew him personally and all were well acquainted with his ideas.

The term Pan-Africanism first gained currency after the first Pan-African Conference held in London in 1900. The conference was organized by Henry Sylvester-Williams, a barrister-at-law from Trinidad, and was attended by about thirty delegates, mainly from the West Indies and the United States, with one delegate each from Ethiopia and Liberia. The conference protested the treatment of Africans in South Africa and Rhodesia by sending a message to Queen Victoria and it was here, in a memorial which he drafted to be sent to the "sovereigns in whose realms are subjects of African descent", that Du Bois first made the statement that "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the color line".<sup>12</sup> Although the Pan-African movement lay dormant in the years until World War I, probably because of the intense repression that blacks were experiencing in the United States, the War opened the issue again. Du Bois held that the War was essentially "over spheres of influence in Asia and colonies in Africa and that in that war, curiously

enough, both Asia and Africa were called upon to support Europe.<sup>13</sup> Senegalese troops, for example, defended France from the first armed German onslaught. Untrained and poorly armed Senegalese were slaughtered in Flanders. In the United States, the editorials of James Weldon Johnson in the New York Age indicated that the Afro-American regarded World War I as crucial in his own struggle for greater justice. The N.A.A.C.P. pamphlet, Africa in the World Democracy, published in 1919, contained an article by Johnson, "Africa at the Peace Table" which stated that "Self-determination will be secured only by those who are in a position to force it".<sup>14</sup> Johnson was addressing not only the African but also the Negro in America.

The unity of purpose was seen after the war when Du Bois was sent to Europe by the N.A.A.C.P. to collect materials on the Negro's participation in the War and to call a Pan-African Congress which would influence the outcome of the Peace Conference sitting at Versailles. Du Bois' plan, which was backed by the N.A.A.C.P., was that the Peace Conference could make up in some measure for the mistakes of the Scramble for Africa by now internationalizing the former German colonies, negotiating for the territory of Portugal and Belgium as well, and placing this great belt of Central African territory - "Africa for the Africans" - under the guidance of international organization. "The governing international commission should represent not simply governments, but modern culture, science, commerce, social reform, and religious philanthropy. It must represent not



simply the white world, but the civilized Negro world".<sup>15</sup> He hoped that the Peace Conference would consider the wishes of educated blacks in the German colonies themselves, in the United States, South Africa, the West Indies, the black governments of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti, the educated Africans of French West Africa, Equatorial Africa, British Uganda, Nigeria, Basutoland, Swaziland, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia, Bechuanaland, and those in the Union of South Africa. Du Bois has claimed that out of the resolutions of the Pan-African Congress came the League of Nation's Mandates Commission. Du Bois was the moving spirit behind the Pan-African Conferences of 1919, 1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945. The ideological influence on emerging African nationalism of these conferences has yet to be fully researched. At the opening session of the 1958 All-African Peoples Conference at Accra, Kwame Nkrumah paid tribute in his speech to Du Bois' pioneering efforts.

The cultural, as distinct from the organizational, aspect of Pan-Africanism shows the links between growing African nationalism and Afro-American national consciousness even more clearly. Blyden's pan Negro nationalism was an important progenitor of the Pan-African ideology. It was perhaps in Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa Movement that the greatest heritage of his ideas is to be found. Both claimed to be "pure" Negroes, and were intensely proud of their race, both supported New World Negro emigration to Africa and envisaged Africa as the scene of future glory for the Negro. Although Garvey's mass

movement collapsed in the 1920's his ideas were a powerful stimulant to African nationalism. Both Azikiwe of Nigeria and Nkrumah of Ghana have said that their ideas of nationalism were influenced by Garvey.<sup>16</sup> George Padmore - the Trinidadian - the foremost theoretician of Pan-Africanism in the twentieth century, was also a great admirer of Blyden. Blyden's search for roots, if not his ideas of Negro "repatriation", was the precedent for the Negro history movement. The papers of Carter G. Woodson, the founder of the Association for the Study of Negro History and of the Journal of Negro History, show that early African nationalists were very interested in Woodson's work.<sup>17</sup> The studies of Du Bois were also a great contribution to cultural Pan-Africanism. John Edward Bruce, a New York Negro journalist who formed with Arthur Schomburg in 1911 the Negro Society for Historical Research, maintained close relations with Blyden, Casely Hayford of the Gold Coast, Dube of South Africa, Aggrey of Achimota, Lewanika of Barotesland, and Duse Mohammed Effendi, who became one of the leading ideologists of the Garvey movement. Bruce enthusiastically publicized the work of Majola Agbebi, Baptist Yoruba founder of an independent Native African church in West Africa, and published his speech in a Negro-American newspaper. The speech and Bruce's letter about it contain the sentiments of the idea of "African personality" and its corresponding idea of Negritude.<sup>18</sup>

Two other influences from the Western side of the Atlantic should be included in this brief discussion of the commerce of ideas: Booker T. Washington and the writers of the Harlem Renaissance. Washington's ideas of self-help and educational practicality were recognized by Blyden and Garvey as being of importance. However, not all of the admirers of the "self-help" school accepted his "reformist", non-political approach. In 1912 Washington called a large conference on Africa at Tuskegee which had as a goal to promote Negro American business adventures in Africa. The Africa Union Company, designed to promote trade between Afro-America and the Gold Coast was destroyed by the interruption of Atlantic commerce in 1914. The writings of the Renaissance express a deep concern with race pride and historical origins. The militant poetry of Claude McKay, the Jamaican, the questions asked by Countee Cullen in his poem "Heritage", the writings of Alain Locke and others inspired the development of African cultural nationalism. Those who, in the years 1930 to 1940 launched the movement of Negritude in the French-speaking countries were strongly influenced by the writings of Locke, McKay, Hughes, Toomer, Sterling Brown, Franck Marshall Davis, Mercer Cook, and Cullen. Senghor discusses this influence, as well as that of the Niagra movement and Garveyism in his "In Defense of Negritude" published in Black World, August 1971.

Negritude is primarily a literary concept, referring to poetry of French-speaking black colonials. Coined by Césaire

and expounded by himself, Leon Damas and Senghor, Negritude has come to have a more general meaning than the designation of the literary revolt against French assimilation policies. Colonialism never ceased to maintain that the African, the "Negro", was a savage. Negritude was the logical antithesis to this general insult. From the Americas and the British-speaking African territories came voices to join the French-speaking poets, their common purpose to affirm the existence and worth of "black culture". Senghor defines Negritude, then, as "Manner in which the Negro expresses himself. Negro character: The Negro World, the Negro civilization". He gives two supplementary definitions of the concept, one is "objective", the other "subjective".

Objectively, Negritude is a fact: a culture. It is the sum-total of the economic and political, intellectual and moral, artistic and social values--not only of the peoples of Black Africa, but also of the Black minorities of America, or even of Asia and Oceania....

Subjectively, Negritude is the "acceptance of this fact" of civilization and its projection, in prospective, into History that must be continued, into the Afro civilization to be re-born and fulfilled. It is, in brief, the task which the defenders of Negritude set to themselves: to assume the values of civilization of the Black world, to actualize and enrich them, if need be with foreign grafts, in order to live them by one's self and for one's self, but also to have them lived in by and for others, thus bringing the contribution of the new Blacks to the Universal Civilization.<sup>19</sup>

The belief in cultural values, the assertion that the past is still relevant in the present and that acquired knowledge must be authentically shaped to one's environment and made



to "move to the rhythms of the people and their land",<sup>20</sup> the theory of African socialism based on the communal nature of traditional African life, are important ideas embodied in the concept of Negritude. Nevertheless, "Senghor and many other artist-intellectuals have not escaped the dilemma delineated by Fanon".<sup>21</sup> Without true independence from the pervasive control of economic neo-colonialism, culture, politics and social relationships will be overwhelmed by European materialism. The intellectual, political and commercial urban elite - workers, school teachers, artisans and small shop keepers - who have begun to profit to some degree from the colonial set-up, after independence have more power but do not necessarily have the willingness to sacrifice their special interests for the power of the nation as a whole. Through these local agents the industrial and finance-capital of Europe and the United States continues to exploit the country. Prices of the commodities, most often single-crop or unit-minerals, produced by the African countries are continually lowered and the prices of the manufactured goods needed by the African countries to modernize themselves are raised. Banks and old industries with new African names continue to control the life of the countries. Africans remain hewers of wood and drawers of water to Western civilization. The newly independent African state seems little more than the old imperialist state only now administered and controlled by black nationalists. Political independence may have been won, but decolonization has not yet occurred.

The importance of Pan-Africanism as an alternative to Western economic domination becomes apparent, though not necessarily easy to actualize. Essentially, Pan-Africanism is an ideological thrust which calls for a coordination of economic planning and development among African countries rather than the existing relationships between single African states and Western "Mother" countries. Greater political links and cooperation are implicit to the concept. The evolution of the political formulation of Pan-Africanism reflects its inclusion of Afro-Americans and the black countries of the Carribean. Du Bois was one of the first to attempt to make concrete political links between the West Indies, Afro-Americans and Africans. Marxist analysis made a profound impact on the direction of his thoughts, and on those of George Padmore. An Afro-American and a West Indian, both saw that their own peoples were weakened in the struggle for greater independence so long as the African continent was weak, divided and colonized. Du Bois saw capitalism as the accumulation of wealth by a few at the expense of the many. The oppression of black people within the United States and the colonization of Africa were to him linked by a common cause, capitalist exploitation. He vered from the orthodox Communist party in one essential respect, however, this being in the belief that a socialist revolution resulting in the equality of mankind and the abolition of the international color line would be initiated by the white working class of the West.

Theoretically we are part of the world proletariat in the sense that we are mainly an exploited class of cheap laborers; but practically we are not a part of the white proletariat and are not recognized by that proletariat to any extent. We are the victims of their physical oppression, social ostracism, economic exclusion and personal hatred; and when in self-defense we seek sheer subsistence we are howled down as scabs.<sup>22</sup>

The "aristocracy" of white labor over colored peoples made it an unlikely ally. Furthermore, Du Bois saw the accumulation of Negro capital as being important. The main qualification he raised was how that capital should be acquired, used and controlled. In this matter he disagreed with Booker T. Washington, for without a political consciousness and a struggle for group liberation, he feared that a black bourgeoisie would be dependent on the white capital structure and would therefore be its agents in exploiting and draining the black community here and in Africa. Rather than share in the loot, Du Bois hoped that black people everywhere would unite and stop the looting.

In 1945 George Padmore organized another Pan-African Congress. Du Bois was requested to come and black trade union delegates to the Paris meeting of trade unions were present. Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Johnson of Liberia, Peter Abrahams of South Africa, and several other young leaders and students were at the meeting held in Manchester. The ideas of Pan-African socialism took root here. A program of "Positive Action", based on the Ghandist technique of non-violent resistance, was endorsed by the Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945 and first

applied in the Gold Coast in 1950 by Nkrumah. The basic objectives of the Pan-African Federation, an organization of colonials residing in Britian which was born at the Congress, were:

1. To promote the well-being and unity of African peoples and peoples of African descent throughout the world.
2. To demand self-determination and independence of African peoples, and other subject races from the domination of powers claiming sovereignty and trusteeship over them.
3. To secure equality of civil rights for African peoples and the total abolition of all forms of racial discrimination.
4. To strive to co-operate between African peoples and others who share our aspirations.<sup>23</sup>

The purpose of the Federation was to provide a machinery through which assistance could be extended to the organizations represented at the Congress. The Federation's journal, International African Opinion was edited by C.L.R. James, the distinguished West Indian historian, assisted by the Afro-American scholar, William Harrison. The detailed deliberations of the Congress are recorded in George Padmore's Pan-Africansim or Communism. Concrete programs of action were formulated for each of the principal geographical regions of the African continent, and the West Indies, and the colonial delegates returned home to organize popular support. The Congress was brought to a close with a declaration to the Colonial Powers which read as follows:

The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the Western world is still



determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discarded imperialism.

We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy.

Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment.<sup>24</sup>

The ideas of Manchester remained with Nkrumah. The twelve years between the Congress and the independence of the Gold Coast, renamed Ghana, witnessed the mobilization of the people, first under the business-minded traditional Chiefs who had been agents of indirect rule, and then by the political party developed by Nkrumah, the Convention People's Party. The strikes and boycotts of European goods were met with violent police measures but many of the Africa police were unwilling to fire on other Africans. While still imprisoned Nkrumah and C.P.P. candidates won sweeping victories in the election of 1951 and gradually

the maneuvering for independence was successful. The C.P.P. was a country-wide, non-tribal, non-religious party. Its ultimate downfall was the degeneration of the party into a self-perpetuating oligarchy of competing interest groups. The lack of initiative encouraged from the countryside and the urbanization of the officials of the party caused it to stagnate. Then, too, Ghana is heavily dependent on its major export, cocoa. World prices continued to drop. Although Nkrumah made very great gains in many fields - education, a broadened industrial base, basic infrastructure, the extension of cooperative marketing and production, state corporations, the regulating of foreign investments - his government became less and less popular due to the corruption of some officials, the financial support he tried to give to independence movements elsewhere in Africa, and the challenge of traditional regional rivalries and private business interests. Nkrumah's "neutral" policies with regard to the cold war enable him to cajole development loans from both Western countries and the Communist countries. In February 1966, while Nkrumah was in Peking on the way to Hanoi for a peace mission at the invitation of the government of North Vietnam, a coup d'etat was staged by the Sand-hurst trained soldiers of the Ghana army.

Nkrumah did manage to keep the idea of Pan-African unity alive, despite the strains of the post-independence period and the enormous internal problems of the multitude of newly independent states in the 1960's. Padmore and then Du Bois work-

ed with him closely. He saluted Ghana's independence in 1957 by declaring that independence would be meaningless unless Ghana contributed to the liberation of the whole continent. In 1958, when Guinea became independent at the cost of French aid, Nkrumah made a significant loan available to President Sekou Toure and later advanced Mali, Upper Volta and other nationalist movements throughout the continent substantial sums. In November of 1958 he gathered together nationalists from sixty-two organizations for an All African People's Conference at Accra. He had unity discussions with the leaders of the West African states and attempted to form a "nucleus of the United States of Africa"<sup>25</sup> with the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union. In 1961 these three states met at Casablanca with the leaders of Egypt, Morocco, Libya and the Algerian Liberation Front (F.L.N.) and established a consultative assembly. In the 1960 Constitution of Ghana it is recorded:

In the confident expectation of an early surrender of sovereignty to a union of African states and territories, the people now confer on Parliament the power to provide for the surrender of the whole or any part of the sovereignty of Ghana: Provided that the sovereignty of Ghana shall not be surrendered on any other grounds other than the furtherance of African Unity.

Other African states opposed Nkrumah's initiative. Nigeria led another group called the Monrovia Bloc and many of the former French colonies belonged to the Brazzaville Bloc lead by President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast. Still, all of these groupings met at African Unity Conference which met at

Addis Ababa in May 1963. Thirty-two independent countries were represented, all but two by their heads of state.<sup>26</sup> A charter for African Unity was drawn up providing for an Organization of African Unity, an assembly of heads of state or government to meet at least twice a year, a secretariat in Addis, and a commission for mediation, conciliation, and arbitration. This was quite a step, but only a month before a conference had been held in London in which delegates from twenty-six African student unions in Europe and America passed these militant resolutions:

Instruments giving expression to African Unity (should) be created as a matter of urgency...  
A method of political coordination (should) be worked out in the consolidating of African Unity...  
A Political Constitution applying throughout the continent (should) be formulated and accepted...  
This Political Constitution should make provision for the establishment of a Pan-African Parliament, a Pan-African Executive and Public Service... A Pan-African Army under joint high command (should) be created from national contingents in order to safeguard the integrity of the African continent...

This Pan-African Army is urgently needed in order to defend Africa against continuing aggression in South Africa, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, and other areas temporarily under colonial subjection...

Africa should be free of all foreign military bases, nuclear and atomic testing facilities, and foreign military missions or pacts... The foreign policy of African countries should in any case be guided by the principles of a most rigorous positive neutralism... African countries must, therefore, free themselves from partnership in any foreign national groupings which are not compatible with African positive neutralism...<sup>27</sup>

What impact these students of 1963 are now having or will have on the future of Pan-African unity remains to be seen.



The idea of Black Power is to bargain with the American society from a position of strength. The contribution of the cultural revitalization movement has been to promulgate a self-affirming identity which can serve as the basis for greater cohesion. On both the political and cultural fronts of struggle, the search for critical political issues and authoritative definitions of ideals has led to a greater involvement with Pan-Africanism. The Pan-African philosophy with its implicit repudiation of absolute national sovereignty, capitalistic monopolism, and its natural alliance with other Third World peoples who have as their ultimate goal a socialistic, federated world, is a social perspective which reconciles the contradictions unresolved by the Black Power ideology and the separatist ideology of many cultural nationalists. The issue of separatism in the U.S. is ultimately a dead-end street, although it is an important direction if one turns off before the last block. The emphasis on black economic autonomy, for example, as expounded by Robert S. Browne,<sup>28</sup> offers important possibilities for the development of the rural southern counties which are solidly black. The burden of this development would be as Browne states, on the national black community and might very well be considered a diversionary focus though it would stimulate economic ventures in the urban black community - those remaining who don't opt for emigration to the separate state, and permit "a two-way flow of resources and a mutual strengthening process." His hopes for a partitioning of the

U.S. which would "come about amicably rather than through war", so that the capital plant will not be destroyed, are remote. So in his suggestion that the U.S. government would "compensate the present owners (of land and capital plant) for what they were giving up, and title would be transferred to the new black government". If it were possible to persuade the U.S. government to create it either by violence or the moral redress of the demand for reparations - little Afro-America would be unviable, extraordinarily vulnerable and dependent on Washington, Moscow or Peking. A territorial Afro-America would be one more neo-colonial dependency of one of the great powers. A more probable direction, considering the dispersment of blacks throughout America and the concern which the ghetto dweller has with the improvement of his daily living, is the course of Black Power as outlined by the strategies suggested by Hamilton and Carmichael. Yet, as the authors of Black Power point out, the black community though organized and moving, electing independent candidates exercising decisive control over the neighborhood schools, and asserting economic and security jurisdiction over the community's resources still may have to face disillusionment. Independent candidates may be easily frustrated by the power of the party machines. Political control, over a bankrupt city is not an assurance that the changes needed can take place. Representation in federal and local government is not a guarantee of needed legislation or appropriations. Moreover, the American

economy, pumped artificially by its war and armaments industry, can perhaps appease the organized white labor force, but it will not also provide the massive aid and reparations needed by the cities and the black community. This is not to say that electoral effectiveness or fighting to reap the benefits of the taxes on the land they occupy, or any other important issues of survival such as jobs, housing, improved quality of education or health services should not be considered priority goals. They can be used as levers for maximizing political influence. But it is not, for example, just a question of political control in the cities, because the city is a part of the nation.

"So the city must change its relation to the federal and state governments. In place of the city-state relations, which have never worked adequately to supply the social and economic needs of the city, new federal-city relations must now be developed. These in turn require a new federal constitution. Therefore, Black political power in the cities is not only a challenge to the suburban whites who want to rule the cities and are devising all kinds of multi-county regional schemes to do so; it is a direct challenge to the federal government. But the federal government, which is constantly being called upon to intervene in local, city, and state matters, is ruling on the basis of a set of constitutional rules and principles in whose establishment Black people had no voice.

Thus the question of whose constitution, whose law and order, whose equality, whose justice, whose welfare, becomes a question of what kind of constitution, what kind of law and order, what kind of equality, what kind of justice, what kind of welfare, and the need arises to create a new political, economic and social system".<sup>29</sup>

This is to say that every change black people attempt to make will have repercussions throughout the social system and require a restructuring of the decision-making process, which is shaped to white privilege and vested interest. When Afro-Americans raise the question of "quality education" many other questions become relevant. Who is to control the schools? How are they to be financed? What is their purpose? What do they teach? Who teaches in them?

The African, Asian and Latin American peoples of the world are challenging the injustices of the American empire and those native elites who permit this exploitation. The response of the United States government has been to use money and arms to "prevent and foment, divert and steer revolutions and counter-revolutions, to make and unmake governments".<sup>30</sup> Although the small nations of the world will never be secure so long as the state of world affairs is governed by the shifting configurations of "balance of power" international politics, those who have wished to become something more than United States or Western European private property have had to accept technical and economic aid from those countries, the Soviet Union or China, that have reason to welcome any weakening of the West's sphere of influence. Yet, as Padmore realized and as James Boggs makes clear in his writings, in a world of nuclear bombs it may ultimately make little difference which bloc one belongs to. The nationalization of property, the redistribution of wealth and the political freedom and organization that the



masses may achieve in countries that are "satellites" of the Communist powers is considerable, but these gains can be compromised by the strings attached to political, economic and military aid. First of all, as the recent detente between China and the U.S. has shown, China is of necessity concerned with its own development and security.<sup>31</sup> Both Russia and China support enormous and costly military establishments, to safeguard their interests against Western aggression and against each other. This basic fact of international life makes them less able to contribute to the development of independent "Third World" economies and more likely to use those countries which depend on them in a way that is not really different from Western neo-colonialism. The Hungarian Revolution is an example of dissatisfaction with Soviet control. Pan-Africanism thought is therefore neutralist, rejecting balance of power politics. The implications of this stance are very relevant to the struggle for Black Liberation in the United States.

The immediate goal of Black Power is and must be to strengthen its bargaining power within American society by orthodox means and by creating new forms of pressure and institutional strength. However, it will have to come to terms with the fact that the material gains won - no matter how "socialistic" the the distribution may be - whether by the enterprises or concessions Afro-Americans achieve, will have been won, in part, at the expense of the peasants and workers of the international community. Furthermore, such gains will be limited by the costly

maneuvering required to insure the exploitation of Third World countries and to protect the American sphere of influence from Soviet or Chinese encroachment, and will be insecure because Western capitalism is in a minority position in the world context and cannot stand forever. The breakaway of the European colonies, of Cuba and the revolutionary movements which are recurring and persisting despite Euro-American intervention have already been felt by North-American capitalists. The American people and the War on Poverty have had to pay for these losses and the effort to prevent further losses. In movement parlance, "the ship is sinking". But, there is no where to run. China, Russia, and the United States in any combination, through captivity to the competitive ideal, can and may begin a holocaust to end all ideals. The tremendous achievement of ending capitalist imperialism is incomplete without ending all imperialism and putting limits on each of the great powers. The independent Pan-African vision of a federated communal world may be the saving grace of all humanity. Afro-America, to be truly liberated must use its Black Power not only to share in the spoils of exploitation, but to subvert American capitalism, challenge its values and institutions and change it from within even as Africa struggles to break away from without. As the United States declines in prestige and in confidence, already a sign of this is the white youth's cultural revolution, Afro-Americans may very well be in the vanguard position of an

internal American Revolution, that is, if they have some alternative to offer beyond Black Capitalism. Joining hands with Africa and the other colored peoples of the world who are "ready" and committed, Afro-Americans may steer the faltering American ship into a confrontation of peace with Russia and China, a confrontation with the choice between death or the renunciation of all absolute national sovereignties. Like the pupil of the eye, the Pan-African world must assert its cultural vision and political power. This was Du Bois's understanding of the destiny of Pan-Africanism. "Africa's plight was seen as a world predicament and Africa's needs were major issues of the world crisis and Africa's cures would be in the obvious interest of the common good".<sup>32</sup>

#### Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism

Any education, any growth of awareness demands its proper sacrifice. Such is its nature: to create a contrast so startling that the past must be abandoned in favor of the future it promises or the reality it so starkly reveals.<sup>33</sup>

In the struggle for independence from domination, as the movement moves from the word to the plea, the protest and then to determined irrepressible action, the demoralizing influences of imposed and exploitative institutions and the psychology of Western education and values are denounced. The task of leadership includes the re-education of the "miseducated", as well as the education of the uneducated. The dilemma of the intellectual leadership is that while asserting the values of the culture and envisioning ideals for the future, the social

and political realities of the historical moment can not be neglected. Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, has attempted to make life in Tanzania an education which will decolonize the attitudes of its citizens and permit the development of the nation's possibilities. He has been successful in mobilizing the population beyond the mere declaration of independence, "to build an African society in an African way".<sup>34</sup> By means of African-orientated socialist methods of development, single ruling party, resistance to outside control despite the sacrifice of outside aid this entails, and democratic procedures of internal criticism, Nyerere has aimed at building a society which would use European techniques selectively to modernize, strengthen, and develop the African heritage. C.L.R. James has written about Tanzania:

The impact that the policies of Tanzania have made upon Africa and can in time make upon the rest of the world, undeveloped or advanced, has already established the African state of Tanzania as one of the foremost political phenomena of the twentieth century. Tanzania is the highest peak reached so far by revolting blacks, and it is imperative to make clear, not least of all to blacks everywhere, the new stage of political thought which has been reached.<sup>35</sup>

It has been Nyerere's accomplishment to carefully plan for a society which is man-centered, in which institutions and other structured forms are designed to unify the diverse people of the country and to promote behavior and attitudes which are not self-seeking but socialistic. Because he has respected the



worth of the individual he has succeeded in touching the subjective understanding of his people and guided them into a collective commitment on the basis of consensus rather than force.

African socialism, the political ideology which Nyerere expounds, is a blend of traditional communal values and realistic technological goals. The essential quality of a socialist country, as distinct from a capitalistic one, is not in the amount of wealth in the country or efficiency of production, but it is the way the wealth which is produced is distributed. Ujamaa, literally translated as "Familyhood" or "Brotherhood" is the basis of an interpretation of socialism which is distinguished from capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man, but which is also to be distinguished from doctrinaire socialism. Nyerere explains the difference:

European socialism was born of the agrarian revolution and the industrial revolution which followed it. The former created the "landed" and the "landless" classes in society; the latter produced the modern capitalist and the proletariat. These two revolutions planted the seeds of conflict within society, and not only was European socialism born of that conflict, but its apostles sanctified the conflict itself into a philosophy. Civil war was no longer looked upon something as evil, or something unfortunate, but as something good and necessary. As prayer is to Christianity or to Islam, so civil war ("class war") is to the European version of socialism - a means inseparable from the end. Each becomes a basis of a whole way of life. The European socialist cannot think of socialism without its father-capitalism.

Brought up in tribal socialism, I must say I find this contradiction intolerable. It gives capitalism a philosophical status which it neither claims nor deserves. For it virtually says "Without capitalism, and the conflict which capitalism creates within society, there can be no socialism". African socialism, on the other hand, did not have the "benefit" of the agrarian revolution or the industrial revolution. It did not start from the existence of conflicting "classes" in society. Indeed, I doubt if the equivalent for the word "class" exists in any indigenous African language; for language describes the ideas of those who speak it, and the idea of "class" or "caste" was non-existent in African society.<sup>36</sup>

The foundation, and the objective, of African socialism is the extended family. This concept must be regained and applied to the nation as a whole, and ultimately extended to all men. All men are brethren - members of an ever extending family.

The use of the word "worker" in the sense of "employee" as opposed to employer is a capitalist attitude of mind which is opposed to traditional outlook. The capitalist millionaire is, like the feudal monarch, the user and exploiter of other people's abilities and enterprise. There is something wrong with the society where one man, however clever or hard-working, can acquire as great a "reward" as the effort of a thousand of his fellows earn between them. Traditional African society succeeded in insuring that no individual who was willing to work when he could would have to worry about what would happen to him when he could not work. He did not have to hoard his wealth today for tomorrow. No individual starved because he lacked personal wealth; in famine he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community. Everybody was a worker. The elder, now taking it easy, had worked hard all of his younger days.

A Swahili saying is mentioned by Nyerere on this point, "Treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe!" A healthy person, in fact, would have been ashamed not to ask for the hoe. This is the socialistic attitude of mind, where one does not covet wealth and exploit the labor of other men in order to enhance one's personal power and prestige. Individual ownership of the land, used for renting and speculation, was introduced to Africa by the Europeans. In Africa the individual had a right to use land, to work it and earn his living, but it belonged to the community. The apparent wealth of the "rich" elder was really only a trust held by him for his people and their needs. The individuals or families of a tribe were "rich" or "poor" according to whether the whole tribe was rich or poor. All the members of the tribe shared its prosperity or misfortune. This must be applied to the whole nation now. Nyerere explains that because a group happens to be contributing more to the national income than some other groups, perhaps due to the "market value" of what their labors produce, that does not mean that they should then take for themselves a greater share of the profits of their own industry than they actually need, thus slowing up the rate at which the whole community can benefit. This is true of individuals too. Certain qualifications command a higher rate of salary than others. But, this does not permit one to demand for his skilled work a salary which is unfair in proportion to the wealth of the whole society to which he belongs. That would be blackmail.

The Tanzanian Government has taken important steps in the application of Ujamaa to the life of the state. It has nationalized, with compensation, the chief centers of economic enterprise. Private enterprise is encourage where this is directed toward the benefit of the whole community. The Arusha Declaration of January 29, 1967 is a guarantee that the wealth of the country does not become synonomous with the wealth of the government officials. In Part Five of the Declaration are listed the following restrictions on party and government leadership:

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a Peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of Capitalism or Feudalism.
2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
3. No TANU or Government leader should hold Directorship in any privately-owned enterprises.
4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.
6. For the purposes of this Resolution the term "leader" should comprise the following: Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers, Members of Parliament, Senior Officials of Organizations affiliated to TANU, Senior Officials of Para-Statal Organizations, all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution, Councilors, and Civil Servants in high and middle cadres. (In this context "leader" means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband).<sup>37</sup>



A new attitude to the farmer, as being capable of initiative and a spirit of service, further distinguishes Tanzania from the Western individualistic and capitalist methods as well as from the Communistic forced collectivization of agriculture. Reviewing Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere outlines the co-operative socialist community Tanzania aims at. He continues:

This is the objective. It is stated clearly, and at greater length, in the policy paper. We must understand it so that we know what we are working towards. But it is not something we shall achieve overnight. We have a long way to go.

For what has been happening over recent years is quite different. We have not been enlarging and modernizing our traditional family unit as much as abandoning it in favor of small-scale capitalistic farming. Many of our most dynamic and energetic farmers, especially those with the most initiative and willingness to learn new techniques, have been branching out on their own as individuals. They have not been enlarging their farms by joining with others in a spirit of equality, but by employing labor. So we are getting the development of an agricultural labouring class on the one hand, and a wealthier employing class on the other. Fortunately, this development has not gone very far; we can arrest the trend without difficulty. But we must not make this change by persecuting the progressive farmers; after all, we have been encouraging them in the direction they have been going! Instead we must seek their cooperation, and integrate them into the new socialist agriculture by showing them that their best interests will be served by this development. For energy and initiative such as these farmers have displayed will be very important to our progress. We need these people.<sup>38</sup>

The co-operative villages aimed at are called Ujamaa. The process is a gradual one. First a group of people should be persuaded to move their houses to a single village, possibly near

a water hole, and plant their crops in the vicinity. Then they may establish small communal plots, perhaps with ten family groups working together, sharing the proceeds at harvest time. Finally if the second phase succeeded, the project should be turned into a community farm. The plan is described in the supplementary paper which followed the Arusha Declaration, "Socialism and Rural Development".<sup>39</sup> By the end of 1970 there were as many as one thousand ujamaa cooperatives.

The major theme of Tanzania's domestic and international existence is Self-Reliance. Increasingly Nyerere has stressed self-sufficiency and self-sacrifice as aid from abroad is not so readily forthcoming. Nyerere has no objections to foreign development aid; what he has made clear is that his country's principles and non-alignment policy are not for sale. And his position has cost Tanzania development funds. The British were ready to grant a seven-and-a-half pound loan including local costs to Tanzania until Nyerere took his uncompromising stand on Rhodesia independence. The break in diplomatic relations with Britain came in December 1965. He tried at the Prime Ministers' Conference in June "to get an assurance from the British government that whatever negotiations they were carrying out were aimed at the achievement of independence in Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule. We were unable to receive this assurance".<sup>40</sup> At the Organization of African Unity heads of state

conference in October at Accra the organization passed a unanimous resolution in which its members threatened to break diplomatic relations with Britain if the British allowed the Rhodesians to declare their independence under the Ian Smith regime. Nyerere waited and then began to prepare Tanzania for the sacrifice involved. He also began to reassure British citizens in Tanzania and warned his people that violence against British subjects would not be tolerated. No clear evidence of Britain's intention to take strong action was forthcoming. On December 14, Nyerere delivered his "Honor of Africa address at the National Assembly. And at midnight Tanzania broke relations. Eight other countries followed; Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Egypt, Mauritania, Congo Brazaville, Sudan and Algeria. Twenty-six did not. Relations between Tanzania and Britain remained estranged for thirty-one months, although Tanzania helped Britain to enforce economic sanctions on Rhodesia. A few months later Nyerere said this about his decision,

This was something all were capable of. We can't march armies to Rhodesia - we don't have the blessed armies. But we could make a strong expression of Africa's feelings on the question of racialism. Fine!

In private relationships, there are some people we know whose yes means yes and whose no means no. It must be the same here: so that the world can look on this yes as meaning something. Or else they will say, 'Those Africans, you can't rely on them, you never know if their yes means yes'.

Would it help Tanzania to establish a reputation for undependability? Can young nations afford to be cynical about morals? For old nations, morals become an instrument of power. Can young nations afford this?41.

In 1970 the British relationship with Tanzania underwent another crisis when conservative Prime Minister Heath's government decided to resume arms sales to South Africa.

President Nyerere, having made his sacrifice of foreign aid, made this observation in 1969 concerning the role of the West in South Africa:

It is possible that South Africa would refuse to make any concessions to the democratic sensibilities of its allies, even at the cost of complete international isolation. I say this is possible because many people in South Africa believe in apartheid as a religion and will defend their faith until death. But there are other South Africans who rejoice in, and who support, the segregationist policies of that Government because of the material benefit and the position it gives them. I believe this is the majority.

Such people give support which is conditional to the extent that it is not based on fear; there is a limit to the degree of international isolation they would be willing to accept rather than accept an organized move towards individual human equality. At the very least, therefore, strong Western pressure on South Africa could introduce a new uncertainty and new insecurity among the dominant group. The police state machine would thus lose the virtually total white support which it at present enjoys. In that case the violence may not be of such long duration or of such bitterness.

But whatever the situation in South Africa, it is quite certain that Portugal could not withstand real pressures for change exerted by its N.A.T.O. allies. A nation can withstand pressure from outside when it is united in hostility to that pressure. But a poor nation cannot maintain its domination over territories twenty times its own size, and over populations 50% (per cent) greater than its own unless it has the support of more powerful countries. In relation to the Portuguese colonies



at least, members of the Western alliance do have the power to secure peace in Africa. They have the power to make a continuation of their support conditional upon Portugal's accepting the principle of self-determination.

Thus, in one case certainly, and in the other case possibly, it is the West which makes the choice between peace and war in Southern Africa. The question is not whether the Western powers are able to exert pressure on Portugal and on South Africa, but whether they are willing to do so. It is the implications of that question which I hope the people of this and other countries will consider.<sup>42</sup>

There are more than sixty companies from the U.S. investing and doing a thriving business in South Africa. This writer, as a student, visited the United Nations during the meetings the General Assembly had in spring of 1967 on the question of Southwest Africa. South Africa has annexed the territory, thereby violating the United Nations ruling that it is to be regarded as a UN trusteeship. At a private luncheon a junior member of the United States mission to the United Nations said, in response to this writer's questioning, in effect that 'we have more important things to concern ourselves with in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Our priorities are not in South Africa'.

An organized pressure on the U.S. Government and businessmen by Afro-Americans against the policy of Apartheid in South Africa is building up in the United States today, though not yet with appreciable success. In May, 1971, for instance, the Black Caucus of the United States Congress among

their sixty-point demands presented to President Nixon, requested that the latter "take the lead in isolating the Republic of South Africa by withdrawing the U.S. sugar quota to that country and disincentives for further development there by U.S. business". In June and July 1971, the Black Caucus put up a strong, but unsuccessful, fight in the U.S. Congress against the continuation of liberal sugar quota for South Africa. Furthermore, the Independent Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), an Afro-American organization, has recently come out with a very strong statement against the policy in South Africa. It has called upon the churches to support liberation movements in that country instead of the diplomatic coup d'etat envisaged by the South African Government through its "dialogue" offensive.

Tanzania's relations with the United States have been strained. After Tanganyika's union with Zanzibar in 1964 and its improved relations with China and East Germany the United States began to exert overbearing pressure. Although Tanganyika had had very cordial relations with the United States and West Germany until the union, the Communist presence in Zanzibar in the form of aid was something the West would not acquiesce to. Tanzania went so far as to say that the United Republic would only recognize East Germany at the consulate level, rather than permitting an embassy to be established but West Germany cancelled an important military aid program and

threatened further moves to put pressure on Tanzania. Nyerere deeply resented such bullying and asked the West Germans to cancel all remaining aid immediately, including a three million pound plan of technical aid. He said, "A hungry dog will accept food in any way you give it to him, even if you throw it at him. It is different with a human being. You have to be careful with the way you give food to a hungry man. He has his dignity to preserve".<sup>43</sup> Another sore spot in relations with the United States concerned the Congo. Nyerere felt that the Western powers failed to exert pressure against Moise Tshombe's accession to power by the use of white mercenaries. In later years the Vietnam war became an irritating source of friction. "The U.S. must recover from its delirium of power", Nyerere told a party conference in 1967.<sup>44</sup> One result of the ill feeling was Tanzania's decision to send the Peace Corps home. In 1961 Tanganyika was the first African country to ask for volunteers. By 1966 Tanzania had five-hundred and eight. But Nyerere said that the Corp's idealism had withered and the Corps had been infiltrated by "people whose motives are no good".<sup>45</sup> In 1969 the last of the volunteers went home.

One more example of Western disregard is offered by the issue of the Zanzibar-Tanzania railroad. Kenneth Kaunda, the President of Zambia wanted a railroad north to Dar es Salaam in order to provide Zambia's copper exports with access to the sea without having to pass through Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola. The railroad

would also be a means of developing southwestern Tanganyika. Kaunda appealed to the Western countries-Britain, the U.S., France, Japan, West Germany - without success but none would consider the project because of its cost. Finally in 1965 after almost three years of Western reluctance, Nyerere said he was prepared to accept money from whomever offers to see it built. The Chinese had made a definite offer in 1964. It was now accepted. The Americans could have built the railroad for what was being spent in Vietnam every four days. Nyerere has said about the matter, "The West, which doesn't want to build the railway, doesn't want the Chinese to build it either. So shall we go without a railway?" But he added, "We are very stubborn people. The Chinese will learn that if they want to control us they will get in trouble".<sup>46</sup> Early in 1966, when Tanzania had lost most of the aid it had been receiving from the U.S., West Germany and Britain, Nyerere said,

The real source of money in the world is the West. The West is wealthy, it has the experience...There is little philanthropy in the kind of aid required for nation-building. Yes there is a little. Scandinavia, led by Sweden, is one example. They feel an obligation of wealthy countries, an obligation to assist in development....In the United States what dominates is: You have got to fight Communism! And particularly: A country must matter, politically, before you can give it aid.<sup>47</sup>

Thus, the Arusha Declaration stresses self-reliance, national and local. Emphasizing how difficult it was for the government to pay for development out of increased tax revenues



in a country where perhaps only 35,000 people have taxable incomes, it said: "Knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow does not have more milk". As for overseas aid, it was not to be relied upon.

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources...Firstly, we shall not get the money. There is no country in the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish industries to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets...And even if all the prosperous nations were willing to help the needy countries, the assistance would not suffice. But in any case the prosperous nations have not accepted a responsibility to fight world poverty. Even within their own borders poverty still exists, and the rich individuals do not willingly give money to the government to help their poor fellow citizens....And there is no World Government which can tax the prosperous nations in order to help the poor nations; nor if one did exist could it raise enough money to do all that is needed in the world... But in fact, such a World Government does not exist....

Secondly, the Arusha paper queries, "is this what we really want?"

Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development...even loans have their limitations.... When we borrow money from other countries it is the Tanzanian who pays it back...How about the enterprises of foreign investors?...Could we agree to leave the economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? Or supposing they did not insist on taking their profits away, but decided to reinvest them in Tanzania; could we really accept this situation without asking ourselves what disadvantages our nation

would suffer? Would this allow the socialism we have said it is our objective to build?... How can we depend on foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.<sup>48</sup>

For a poor agricultural African country, then, self-reliance means building slowly, step by step, emphasizing rural planning and de-emphasizing money and heavy industry. This is the only way to avoid domination by the West and compromise of the African socialist goals of equality, cooperation and service. Money is the result of development, not its basis. When an industry is established or a hospital built, usually in the town, the loan which enabled it to be built is repayed by the foreign exchange earned by the labor and produce of the rural farmer. It will be a long time before these industries will produce of export, their purpose now is to produce things that formerly had to be imported. Therefore, the real nation-builders are the villagers. Hard work, good leadership, necessary tools, and the enthusiasm sustained by just policies are what is needed to develop the nation. People can build schools, dispensaries, community centers, and roads; "they have dug wells, water-channels, animal dips, small dams, and completed various other development projects. Had they waited for money, they would not now have the use of these things."<sup>49</sup> Speaking about self-reliance to a crowd, Nyerere said, "The important thing is that we should not adopt the attitude that nothing can be done until someone else agrees to give us money. There are

many things we can do by ourselves, and we must plan to do them". However, he added, "it is not being self-reliant to refuse to carry out the directions of a foreign engineer or a foreign manager; it is just being stupid".<sup>50</sup>

The problem of military takeovers, of internal coups, has plagued many African governments. Even Tanzania had a taste of military mutiny, in January of 1964, when Nyerere was preoccupied with the Zanzabair revolution in which the Sultan was expelled and an African majority government was established in the place of the Arab regime. The primary issue involved in the attempted military coup was Nyerere's announcement that he was ending the government's two year policy of Africanization, and that citizens of all races would henceforth be eligible for government jobs. The mutiny was led by a small group of soldiers, mostly noncommissioned, whose aim was to get rid of British officers and who wanted higher wages. The government capitulated but the rebellion persisted, now fanned by the grievance of trade union leaders. This was more than a protest, it was a conspiracy to overthrow the government. The ultimate humiliation was that the government had to request British assistance to put down the mutiny. After the rebellion was put down Nyerere called a meeting of African foreign and defense ministers to discuss "the grave danger to the whole continent" posed by army revolts.<sup>51</sup> The meeting endorsed his plan for borrowing soldiers from other African states until his own new army had been trained. Nyerere decided on a new kind of army:

"The King's African Rifles never taught the men to become soldiers of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. (Simultaneous revolts occurred in both of these countries.) They were just battalions of British officers. So what did we do when we took over? We changed the uniforms a bit, we commissioned a few Africans, but at the top they were still solidly British. There were no African field-grade officers. We had inherited an impossible situation. You could never consider it an army of the people. When I suggested, 'Here are these able-bodied men, why can't they help in building bridges?', the officers answered" - he affected a clipped British accent - " 'These are soldiers!' I said that in war-time, British soldiers built bridges. They replied, 'Wartime is different.'

"An army, I think, must accept the political ethic of a country. Our army didn't know what our political ethic was. The British allow political dissent within their army, but that's part of their ethic. I had some of the British officers to dinner here, and one of them talked politics to me. He said he was voting socialist against the Tories. Well, that's fine. But can you imagine a KADU colonel" - KADU being Kenya's opposition party at the time - "in the Kenya army? If we had an opposition here, the damned fellows would be overthrowing the government the next morning. Here the opposition would be subversive...

"I don't need to be convinced of the need for an opposition. The West should talk to the opposition, not to me. It should tell them 'If you want to be the opposition, don't be subversive, don't be disloyal.'

"One of the soldiers said during the mutiny, 'How can we overthrow the damned government? It's too popular.' Can you imagine that?" He repeated the question, obviously pleased with it. "What we need is the kind of criticism that pushes good government..."<sup>52</sup>

The extreme vulnerability of African states both from within and without has worried Nyerere. Asked if he thought there was a way to protect Africa from internal coups, Nyerere replied,



"Nkrumah used to talk of a High Command. I disagreed with him on this. Suppose it were like NATO, an alliance of governments organized for self-protection against an external enemy. But how would you use NATO to stop a coup in Britain" How does the outsider go in? I differed with Nkrumah on this because Africa is not going to be attacked from the outside. The answer is unity on the basis of the United States of America; this is the answer to our internal problems". Only if there was "genuine subversion by an outside power" would another African state be justified in intervening. "But if there is an internal uprising in Tanzania, what does Africa do? Invade Tanzania? And who invades?"<sup>53</sup> Ever since the pre-independence period Nyerere has stressed the importance of Pan-African unity and of developing regional confederations as steps towards achieving mutual bonds and strengthening the internal will to unity. Tanzania provides hospitality to about a dozen refugee "liberation" organizations from South Africa, Southwest Africa, Rhodesia and Mozambique; there is also a group from the French-owned Comoro Islands. "Genuine subversion by an outside power" like South Africa, Portugal or the United States might plausibly be disguised behind the uniform of a Tanzanian soldier.

Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya have talked about an East Africa Federation. The heads of state even went so far as to announce its formation in June of 1963. But at the ministerial level the talks broke down. In 1967, however, the three countries converted the East African Common Services Organization,

inherited from the colonial period, into the East African Community. It is a common market and administrative union, which operates four independent corporations that run East Africa's airline, railways, harbours, post and telecommunications, administers twelve research organizations, collects income taxes customs and duties and includes an appellate judicial system and a development bank. The three countries contribute equally to the bank, but the bank's investments and guarantees are distributed to compensate for Tanzania's and Uganda's relative underdevelopment - a consequence of the colonial period. However, since the overthrow of Uganda President Milton Obote in January of 1971, Tanzania has tended to look southward to Zambia. Dr. Banda of Malawi has not had good relations with Tanzania. He has cooperated with the Portuguese and established diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Julius Nyerere has stated his conception of an operating democracy as a society with a national ethic and without factions. He maintains that the one-party system can be democratic, that the freedom of the individual and their right to choose the government of the country need not conflict with the need for a unified national effort. In his book, Democracy and the Party System, published in 1963.<sup>54</sup> Nyerere has provided the framework for a new way of thinking about the West's cherished tradition of organized disagreement. He has argued, firstly, that democracy is a familiar phenomenon in traditional African political life. Ideally, it is a form of government

where all the people settle their affairs through open discussion, the time being spent in such discussion being well worth it as the attitude of cooperation will make implementation of any decision surer. In multiple party systems the parties are rarely divided over fundamental issue, each represents only a section of the community. The result is a tendency toward factionalism, and a struggle for power on the basis of interests that are not of great concern to the majority of people. Given fundamental disagreement, which logically leads to revolution, it would make more sense if both sides were to stop playing games and let the electorate choose the best individuals from among them all. There could then be cooperation in getting the job done. "This is what we do when we elect party leaders - party policy having been agreed upon. And this is what should happen when we elect national leaders - national policy being agreed upon".<sup>55</sup> Moreover, the origins of TANU identifies it with the interests of the nation as a whole. TANU was not formed to challenge any ruling group within the country; it was formed to challenge the imposed rule of foreigners. It was not, per se, a political party or faction, but a nationalist movement. On the basis of the people's unanimity of resolve, expressed through the national organization, they were able to achieve independence. "Now that the colonialists have gone, there is no remaining division between 'rulers' and 'ruled', no more political power by any sectional

group which could give rise to conflicting parties. The only reason for the formation of such parties, therefore, is the desire to imitate the political structure of a totally dissimilar society".<sup>56</sup>

Nyerere rejects parties whose membership is confined to an aristocracy, either of birth or intellect. These are not national parties: "in all such parties - whether the factional parties of a two-party democracy or the vanguard aristocracies of an ideological dictatorship - it is the leaders who 'elect' each other".<sup>57</sup> His commitment to the idea of political equality and his conception of the need for unity has led him to insist that TANU not restrict itself by setting up narrow criteria for membership, but must maintain itself as an open political movement, tolerant of a diversity of individual opinion. Like the state, he sees the national movement as all-embracing and realizes that "while some people may respond more to TANU than to an idea of the state, others must be brought to feel themselves part of the nation and they may have rejected entrance via TANU in the past".<sup>58</sup> TANU is not viewed as constituting an elite within the country; party functionaries abide by the same operational code as other TANU members. The pledges a TANU member makes are not commitment to an elitist organization. They are:

1. All human beings are my brethren and Africa is one country.
2. I will serve my country and all of its people.



3. I will personally volunteer to work for the eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease.
4. Bribery is the real enemy of Justice; I will neither receive or give bribes.
5. An official rank is a responsibility. I will never use my position or that of other people for my own benefit.
6. I will educate myself as much as I can and utilize my knowledge for the benefit of all the people.
7. I will cooperate with all my fellow members in building our country.
8. I will speak truth and will never betray.
9. I will be a loyal member of TANU and a good citizen of Tanganyika and Africa.

The March 1965 TANU Annual Conference added a tenth pledge:

10. I promise to be loyal and faithful to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Several decisions have made TANU party more democratic than Western observers would have supposed a one-party system could be. For example, following the November 1962 elections Nyerere announced that the National Executive committee had voted to ask the party's national conference to open party membership to non-Africans, and to grant political amnesty to all persons who had been expelled from TANU since 1954. He said, "We were not racialist then, but we were realistic. We were the Africans of Tanganyika fighting for our rights. Our aim was to be racial in composition and nonracial in policy". But, he said, as early as 1955 the policy had been an embarrassment; that year the party had voted to accept any Tanganyikan who was half-African.<sup>59</sup>

The African National Congress was an opposition party in the 1962 election, which objected to the "nonracial" policies of Nyerere and accused him of plotting to "introduce neocolonialism" into newly independent African states. In May of 1962 its leader announced a three-stage plan - "cool, warm and very hot" - to obtain a "purely African government" in Tanganyika within twelve months.<sup>60</sup> Nyerere had already "Africanized" about half the senior and middle-grade posts, but there were many vacancies as Africans were not yet sufficiently trained. Moreover, many of the Europeans were newcomers on short-term contracts. The government prevented the ANC from holding meetings for several months but the ban was lifted so that its leader, Mtemvu, could run against Nyerere in the November elections. Mtemvu received 21,276 votes to Nyerere's 1,127,978. Mtemvu, a few days later, asked to rejoin TANU.

In September, 1965, mainland Tanzania again had general elections. Zanzibar did not have parliamentary elections; the government explained that it was too soon after the revolution. But the Zanzibaris did have a chance to vote for or against the President with the mainlanders. The party adopted a new system in this election. The National Executive committee selected two candidates for almost every constituency. Only six incumbent Members of Parliament, including the Vice President, went unopposed. Nyerere, likewise, went unopposed. Nyerere devoted much of the campaign to an explanation of the use of

the ballot. He has said that he dislikes political campaigning, "it is not a traditional African practice. It smacks of pride, vanity and sometimes stubbornness. A man standing before the public outlining his good qualities - this is a shameful thing."<sup>61</sup> The 96% (per cent) vote that Nyerere received was predictable. The number of incumbent Members of Parliament that were defeated was the great surprise. Two ministers and six junior ministers were defeated, also three other junior ministers who were not nominated by the party for re-election. 86 of the 107 constituency members of the new Parliament were freshman. The only European in Nyerere's Cabinet and the only Asian were both re-elected against African opponents. In choosing people to fill the ten "nominated" seats in Parliament, Nyerere did not use these appointative posts to save the careers of those who had been defeated at the polls. He made one exception to his own rule, however, saying that this man was too valuable to the country to lose.

One of Nyerere's chief concerns has been to prevent Tanzania from becoming a "bureaucratic-serf state" in which the peasants do not participate in the decision-making which affects them. Lenin knew that if the Soviet State was to be something more than the same old Tzarist regime the Soviet official would have to stop theorizing and go in person to work among the backwoods peasants. He said that what the people needed from their official was:

Less argument about words! We still have too much of this sort of thing. More variety in practical experience and more study of this experience! Under certain conditions the exemplary organization of local work, even on a small scale, is of far greater national importance than many branches of the central state work. And these are precisely the conditions we are in at the present moment in regard to peasant farming in general, and in regard to the exchange of the surplus products of agriculture for the manufacture of industry in particular. Exemplary organization in this respect, even in a single volost, is of far greater importance than the "exemplary" improvement of the central apparatus of any People's Commissariat; for three and a half years to such an extent that it has managed to acquire a certain amount of harmful inertness; we cannot improve it quickly to any extent, we do not know how to do it. Assistance in the radical improvement of it, a new flow of fresh forces, assistance in the successful struggle against bureaucracy, in the struggle to overcome this harmful inertness, must come from the localities, from the local ranks, with the exemplary organization of a small "whole", precisely a "whole", i.e., not one farm, not one branch of the economy, not one enterprise, but the sum total of economic exchange, even if only in a small locality.

Those of us who are doomed to remain on work at the centre will continue the task of improving the apparatus and purging it of bureaucracy, even if in modest and immediately achievable dimensions. But the greatest assistance in this task is coming, and will come, from the localities...<sup>62</sup>

C.L.R. James has mentioned this passage to Dr. Nyerere; the President said he did not know it but had come to similar conclusions by himself and with his people.

Indeed, Nyerere spends much of his time in the countryside, travelling through the villages to talk over plans with the people and informing them of the ways in which they



can take initiative. Only six weeks after Tanganyika attained independence Nyerere resigned as prime minister, making sure that the position would be covered before he resigned. He had decided to devote himself to rebuilding the party because he felt this was the way to achieve, as he explained, "our new objective - the creation of a country in which the people take a full and active part in the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease". Besides an able government, he said, the country needs a "strong political organization, active in every village, which acts like a two-way all weather road along which the purposes, plans and problems of the government can travel to the people, at the same time as the ideas, desires and misunderstandings of the people can travel direct to the government. This is the job of the new TANU".<sup>63</sup> Long after he had returned to office as President of the republic he was asked if he thought he was right to resign so soon after independence. He replied, "No question about it. If I made any mistake, it was that I came back". He was very serious. "I was convinced my function was to lead the masses. If I regret anything, it is that it would be difficult now to go back to the masses. It changed the tone of the country....I think we are different from what we might otherwise have become. If this country has anything, it has a sense of purpose. I think my actions in 1962 helped give it that sense of purpose".<sup>64</sup> Nyerere has shown by his deeds that he is not infatuated with power for its own sake. Nor does he value efficiency over human

spirit. As Nyerere toured a small tobacco field planted by the local TANU youth league chapter, the Member of Parliament from that area criticized the youths' effort as being uneconomic. Nyerere asked him, "What do you mean? We're getting into the third year of our five-year plan, and Tabora hasn't planned anything yet, but you criticize those who have started something. Why is that?"<sup>65</sup>

### "Education for Self-Reliance" in Tanzania

The Tanzanian government paper, "Education for Self-Reliance," by President Nyerere spells out the decolonizing of the educational system. An educational system must relate to the goals of the society and teach its values. Nyerere has attempted to design an educational service which will inculcate attitudes of respect for human dignity, sharing and service. As a significant part of the total environment in which a child develops, the school environment, organization, and curriculum contributes to the formation of social values. Nyerere's hope is that education will not lead people to scramble for personal wealth; in a country of limited resources the wealth would then easily become concentrated at the top and the people would be left with nothing. He questions the "right" of the individual to make himself rich as quickly as possible at the expense of the many. He questions the individualistic attitudes of Western education. "All the textbooks of Western countries talk about rights, rights, rights, and no duties. The Charter of the United Nations is a charter of rights. Very

good, this is very good. You couldn't state it better. Schools, churches talk about rights all the time. And duty is usually defined as 'obey the law'. The minimum! And a large number of crooks do obey the law".<sup>66</sup>

The paper begins with a statement of general purpose. Education, wherever it is found, whether formalized or informal, exists "to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development".<sup>67</sup> When education fails to transmit the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes of the society and to prepare the young to live in and to serve the society, "then the society falters in its progress, or there is social unrest as people find that their education has prepared them for a future which is not open to them".<sup>68</sup> The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which now form Tanzania had a different purpose - to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state rather than for the service of their own country. All of the values transmitted were not wrong or inappropriate but the emphasis on subservient attitudes, white-collar skills, and individualistic materialism "underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field".<sup>69</sup> Education was thus a part of "a deliberate attempt to effect a

revolution in the society; to make it into a colonial society which accepted its status and which was an efficient adjunct to the governing power".<sup>70</sup>

The inadequacy of the educational system inherited from colonial times was at first more apparent than its inappropriateness. First, the separate racial systems were abolished. Religion is also no longer a basis of discrimination in Government or Government-aided schools. Education has also been expanded greatly. In 1961 only 490,000 children attended primary schools. In 1967 there were 825,000 attending such schools and increasingly these will be full seven-year primary schools. Secondary education has almost tripled; 7,100 children entered secondary school in 1969. But in consequence, the expansion of the primary schools has had to be tapered. Only about forty-seven per cent of Tanzanian children could find a primary school place in 1969, but those who did will continue uninterrupted to Standard Seven.<sup>71</sup> One more modification of the system inherited from the colonial period has been to make the education more Tanzanian in content. Materials on the history of Africa have been produced at the University College for teachers, national songs and dances are again being learned by the children, civic classes provide secondary school pupils with some understanding of the organization and aims of the Tanzanian state. Yet, Dr. Nyerere, in "Education for Self-Reliance", issued in March, 1967, suggested that a deeper examination of the existing structure and content of Tanzanian education be made in the light of the task it has to do.



In the National Ethic and the Arusha Declaration the principles and policies of the Tanzanian Government and people have been set forth. In order to make progress toward these goals, it is first necessary to accept the realities of the present, internally and externally, and then work to change these realities into something more in accord with the goals of a socialist future, a democratic political process and greater African unity. Nyerere is explicit: "What we do have is land in abundance and people who are willing to work hard for their own improvement...If we use these resources in a spirit of self-reliance as the basis for development, then we shall make progress slowly but surely. And it will be real progress, affecting the lives of the masses, not just having spectacular show-pieces in the towns while the rest of the people of Tanzania live in their present poverty".<sup>72</sup> A realistic framework of development for Tanzania, then, is one which acknowledges the fact that Tanzania will continue to have a predominantly rural economy for a long time to come. Only a small proportion of the people will live in the towns and work in modern industrial enterprises. It is therefore the villages which must be made good places to live and work. This means the people will have to work hard, intelligently and in co-operation. This is what the educational system has to encourage.

It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to

play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human-well-being, not prestige buildings, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned.<sup>73</sup>

This means that education must emphasize co-operative endeavor, not individual advancement; concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability; and it must counteract the temptation of intellectual arrogance towards those who do not have special skills or achievements.

Vocationally, education must prepare young people for the work they will do in the society which exists in Tanzania a rural society where improvement will depend on efforts in agriculture and village development. This does not mean, Nyerere writes, that education should produce "passive agricultural workers of different levels of skill who simply carry out plans or directions received from above...robots, who work hard but never question what the leaders in Government or TANU are doing and saying. For the people are, and must be, Government and TANU. Our Government and our Party must always be responsible to the people, and must always consist of representatives-spokesmen and servants of the people".<sup>74</sup> Education must encourage in the individual an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains".<sup>75</sup> Nyerere

expresses the hope that citizens of Tanzania will learn the basic principles of modern science and agriculture from books but will then adapt them to solve their own particular local problems. Similarly, the people will have to judge social issues for themselves for "there neither is, nor will be, a political 'holy book' which purports to give all the answers to all the social, political and economic problems which will face our country in the future".<sup>76</sup>

Nyerere points to four basic features of the inherited educational system which discourage the integration of the pupils into the society they will enter and which do encourage attitudes of inequality, intellectual arrogance and intense individualism. First, the education is basically elitist, designed to meet the interests of a very small proportion of the children who enter schools. Although only 13% (per cent) of the primary school graduates will get a place in the secondary schools, the primary education they receive is geared to prepare them for secondary school. The other 87% (per cent) finish with a sense of failure and inferiority. The 13% (per cent) who are allowed to go on feel they have earned a prize—they expect high wages, comfortable employment in towns, and personal status in the society. At the next highest level, when entrance to university is the issue, the same process operates again. Those who go on feel a sense of superiority as the education is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows and is highly competitive as a consequence. Secondly, the educa-

tional system is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposedly preparing them to live in. At least in theory, the attempt is made to relate academic skills to the life which the children see around them, but the school is separate. "It is a place children go to and which they and their parents hope will make it unnecessary for them to become farmers and continue living in the villages".<sup>77</sup> If, later, they are lucky enough to enter Dar es Salaam University College they live in nice quarters, eat well, and study hard for the degree which they expect will automatically guarantee them a high salary. The educational process which alienates the student from his parents and the poor life of the peasantry, and the attitudes of the people who regard education as meaning a man is too precious for the rough and hard life which the masses still live are what shape the student's attitudes toward his future. Thirdly, the educational system encourages the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile comes from books or degree-holders. A man's attitudes, character, experience, wisdom or knowledge are disregarded and held to be of no account. His ability to pass examinations is held up as the sole qualification for jobs and status. Book learning should not be under-valued, modern techniques and organization are important. But, book-learning should not be over-valued either. The young people have to learn a practical respect for the old "uneducated" farmer and an understanding of new methods and the reason for them. Finally, students are some of the healthiest and strong-



est young men and women. They are taken out of productive work while they consume the output of the older and often the weaker people. Even during the holidays neither they nor the community expects them to spend time on hard physical labor or jobs that are uncomfortable or unpleasant. Yet, their knowledge and strength are needed by the village community.

Tanzania spends almost twenty per cent of its Government revenues on education. Every penny spent on education is money that is needed for other activities - whether it is an investment in the future, medical services or just more food. Therefore, the problems of education, in this case, are not going to be solved by spending more money. The "problem of primary school leavers", in particular, cannot be solved by increasing the number of secondary school places. The person who has started school at five or six and finishes at twelve or thirteen is finished with his education when he is still too young to become a responsible young worker and citizen. Moreover, the society and the type of education they receive both have led the youth to expect wage employment - perhaps in an office - when he reaches maturity. This problem calls for a major change in the content of primary education, so that it prepares the children for the life the majority of them will live, and the age of entry should be raised, Nyerere suggests, so that the child is older when he leaves and able to learn more quickly while he is at school. For most of those who enter

school the seven-year primary program must serve as a "complete" education. This is the practical meaning of Tanzania's poverty. Similarly, secondary schools must not be simply a selection process for the university, Teachers' Colleges, and so on. They must prepare people for life and service in the villages. The only justification for secondary training in Tanzania is that it is needed by the few for service to the many. The primary-school teacher needs more than a primary education. The extension officer working with a population with seven years of education will need more himself in order to help them. Other essential services need an even higher education. For example, doctors and engineers need long and careful training. "But publicly provided 'education for education's sake' must be general education for the masses. Further education for a selected few must be education for service to the many. There can be no other justification for taxing the many to give education only to the few".<sup>78</sup>

This kind of radical change in educational purpose requires that the examination system be down-graded in Government and public esteem. They do not always succeed in assessing power to reason, but are, as a general rule, designed to assess a person's ability to learn facts and recall them on demand in a given time period. They do not assess character or willingness to serve. Furthermore, they are geared to an international standard which has little to do with Tanzania's particular problems and needs, and they tend to determine what the

curriculum will consist of rather than the other way around. An examination should be designed to fit the education that Tanzania decides to provide, if it is an appropriate way to close an educational phase at all. The curriculum and syllabus must be geared to the majority, to enable the boy or girl to learn the skills and values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society. The purpose is not to provide an inferior education but to provide a different education - "one realistically designed to fulfill the common purpose of education in the particular society of Tanzania".<sup>79</sup>

Alongside this effort to make educational levels something more than steps to another level, is the need to make the schools and their inhabitants a real part of the society and the economy. "Schools must, in fact, become communities - and communities which practice the precept of self-reliance. The teachers, workers, and pupils together must be the members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives, and children are the family social unit.... And the former community must realize, just as the latter do, that their life and well-being depend on the production of wealth by farming or other activities. This means that all schools, but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities".<sup>80</sup>

A school farm or workshop is not solely for training purposes; it should be an integral part of the school, allowing the school to become economically viable and to make a contribution to the national income at least by the government revenue saved by the produce and labor of the school community. This is not a punishment; it is "a recognition that we in Tanzania have to work our way out of poverty, and that we are all members of the one society, depending on each other".<sup>81</sup> Local farmers and craftsmen could be used as supervisors and teachers of the work, the services of the Agricultural Officers and assistants are also available; this co-operation will help to breakdown the notion that only book learning is worthy of respect. The farm work and products can be integrated into the academic curricula and can be understood theoretically in the science classes, for example, as well as practically from experience in work. New methods can be practiced and understood, or even be invented or improved. They must learn why it is necessary to have a farm or a workshop-not just be told that it is so. But they will not have any more capital assistance than is available to an ordinary, established, co-operative farm.

The students will thus learn the importance of co-operative endeavour. The living standards of the school should be dependent on the efforts of the school community. Pupils should be responsible for many of the decisions-for example, whether to spend the money earned on hiring a tractor or whether to use the money for other purposes on the farm or school,



doing the labor themselves instead of hiring a tractor. Government should avoid laying down detailed and rigid rules, each school needs flexibility so that "the participants can practice-and learn to value-direct democracy".<sup>82</sup> If they work badly, then they themselves will suffer. The students will learn that work is related to comfort, that working together and with the non-school community is important - irrigation may be possible if they work with neighboring farmers, that development requires a choice between present and future satisfaction, and that they must learn how to make careful plans. Extra benefits might be related to the proper fulfillment of tasks set for particular groups within the school once the necessary minimum has been assured to every member of the school community. Where schools are not located rurally, or are day schools other arrangements or productive activities should be worked out. The students might even spend part of the school year in the classroom and another part in camp on the school farm some distance away.

Many activities now undertaken for pupils, especially in secondary schools could be done by students themselves. Gardening, cleaning, dish-washing, cooking, book-keeping, planning the diet, ordering, purchasing, secretarial work, and other costly services could be learned by the students or paid for, if they so decide, out of the school's earnings in other production. Elementary schools may not be able to achieve the

same level of self-sufficiency but they can make some headway and can even trade services with skilled or stronger members of the community where they exist, perhaps by offering a school contribution in labour to some existing community project. Children who don't go to school, it must be remembered, work on the family or community farm, or look after cattle, as a matter of course. Children who do attend school should participate in the work of the family and community as a normal part of their upbringing, not just as a favor when they feel like it. The time spent on learning to do practical work as they contribute to their own upkeep and the development of the community will mean that the students will not be able to take the present kind of examination. Tanzania will have to combine an academic examination, based on the things that schools will teach, with a teacher and pupil assessment of work done for the school and community. This will be a more appropriate way of selecting students for secondary schools and universities than the purely academic approach. The new form of working in the schools may also mean that the school schedule be changed so that some students are always present when, say, the crops need planting, weeding or harvesting.

Entrance to school at age seven or eight, Dr. Nyerere believes, will allow the pace of learning and work to be stepped up some. Further, the child's learning should be enhanced academically if the studies are related to the life he sees around

him. For the majority of the people what matters is that they should be able to read and write fluently in Swahili, do arithmetic, and know something of the history, values, and workings of their country and government, and that they acquire the skills necessary to earn their living. "Things like health, science, geography, and the beginning of English, are also important, especially so that people who wish may be able to learn more by themselves in later life. But most important of all is that our primary school graduates should be able to fit into, and to serve, the communities from which they come".<sup>83</sup> Those who go on to take specialized training in institutions of higher learning, though they are unlikely to forget their debt to the community by an intensive period of study if they have been through such an integrated system of education in the primary and secondary schools, should still wash and clean for themselves, and be required to spend at least part of their vacations contributing to the society in a way that is related to their studies. They should undertake projects needed by the community - even if there is insufficient money for them to constitute paid employment:

For example, the collection of local history, work on the census, participating in adult education activities, work in dispensaries, etc., would give the students practical experience in their own fields. For this they could receive the equivalent of the minimum wage, and any balance of the money due for work which would otherwise have been done for higher wages could be paid for the college or institution and go towards welfare or sports equipment. Such work

should earn credits for the student which count toward his examination result; a student who shirks such work - or fails to do it properly - would then find that two things follow. First, his fellow students might be blaming him for shortfalls in proposed welfare or other improvements; and second, his degree would be downgraded accordingly.<sup>84</sup>

Nyerere has had to be firm with students and teachers who resent the change in policy described above. After "Education for Self-Reliance" was issued meetings were set up for teachers and administrators to examine the means of implementing the new ideas. Many schools - particularly secondary schools - began the work of opening farms, establishing workshops, and undertaking "nationbuilding" tasks. Five months earlier, however, the President and the students at Dar es Salaam University had a run-in. Four hundred students marched to the State House in October, 1966, to protest against a new law which required that they spend two years in the National Service and be paid roughly forty per cent of what they would earn as university graduates in civilian life. They carried placards, one of which said, LIFE DURING COLONIAL DAYS WAS BETTER. Nyerere and most of the Cabinet members met them at the steps. The student spokesman delivered their ultimatum. The government, he declared, was trying to throw "the burden of financing this extensive scheme on the shoulders of the young and helpless students". And then, "Either we be paid our full rights of earning, or else all those in the high-income brackets should also be in that category which could be interpreted as a form of sac-



rifice rather than a form of exploitation". He went on to say that if the attitudes of the leaders towards students did not change, then the students would not accept National Service "in spirit" and "the battle between the political elite and the educated elite will perpetually continue".<sup>85</sup> Nyerere explained that the National Service was just that, for all. Primary school graduates, secondary and university graduates are included. He further told them that the Government had decided not to take them before their education was finished, although by then the student has developed certain material expectations. At the end of his training he thinks that is his "full right" to earn a certain amount. Nyerere pointed out to them that, first of all they were being asked to serve in capacities which would contribute to their own professional development, and that if they had been asked to complete National Service before finishing their education they "would not be talking about forty per cent. Forty per cent of what? You have no salaries. I mean, really the easiest way to get out of this damned forty-per-cent rubbish is to ask you people to do National Service before you go to the university. That's all". He continued, "We have said, 'We guarantee a minimum wage - the government minimum wage in Dar es Salaam...' They would receive free housing and no direct taxation on the money earned. Calmly, he spoke again, "Now, I've accepted your ultimatum. And I can assure you I'm going to force nobody. You are right, your

bodies would be there, your spirit wouldn't be... I take nobody into the National Service whose spirit is not in it. Nobody!... It's not a prison, you know. I'm not going to get anybody there who thinks it is a prison camp, no one! But nevertheless it will remain compulsory for everybody who is going to enter government service. So you make your choice. I'm not going to spend public money to educate anybody who says, 'National Service is a prison camp....'" He announced that from this moment on he would take a twenty per cent slash in his already very low salary, and those of officials - also low by anybody's standards - would be cut too. And then he said,

I agree with you! We are paying too much! Everybody in this damned country is paid too much - except the poor peasant. I'll slash salaries! I agree with you! I'm glad you're so concerned about this country! Forced labor? Where do we get this language? The day I can give every worker in Tanzania three hundred and eighty pounds (the minimum wage), we will have worked a revolution that has not been worked anywhere else in Africa... Everybody in this country is demanding a pound of flesh. Everybody except the poor peasant. How can he demand it? He doesn't know the language. Even in his own language he can't speak of forced labor. What kind of country are we building?<sup>86</sup>

Finally, he assured the students once more he had accepted what they said, also that salaries would be revised permanently. And then he sent them home; they were expelled. In April 1967 the parents of the expelled students were asked to write to their regional commissioners stating that they were sure that "the student will be of benefit to the nation if he resumes his studies". Nyerere pardoned the majority of the students.<sup>87</sup>

The World University Service held its General Assembly at Dar es Salaam University College at the end of June 1966. President Nyerere gave the opening address, entitled "The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries". In this speech, published in Freedom and Socialism, Dr. Nyerere lays a heavy responsibility on the university and its students. In a developing country, "where people are dying because existing knowledge is not applied, when the very basic social and public services are not available to all members of a society, then that society is misusing its resources if it pursues pure learning for its own sake".<sup>88</sup> Although it has been just this pursuit of pure knowledge which has opened up the frontiers of possibility that later bear fruit, and although "in the course of time universities in developing countries must also make their contribution to the world of knowledge", there are in all things priorities. Promoted research and the content of degree syllabuses must be determined by the needs of the country. This is not to say that pure knowledge is useless or should not be pursued in the academic community in one's spare time and with whatever facilities are available. But such non-priority research as determining why a fish changes color when taken out of the water is a luxury under the present conditions.

Nyerere asks the university to concern itself with questions such as these: What are the problems we face in the discipline concerned? What are the obstacles which might prevent the achievement of a particular national goal, and how

can they be overcome? Is a particular policy conducive to the attainment of the basic objectives of the society? He suggests that in these fields university staff and students should be co-operating with Government and the people. Some would challenge this assumption, saying that the task of a university is to seek for truth and to ignore all other responsibilities, leaving it to those outside the university to accept or reject the result in practical politics. To this Nyerere replies:

I fully accept that the task of a university is to seek for truth, and that its members should speak the truth as they see it regardless of consequences to themselves. But will you notice the words 'to themselves'; I do not believe they should do this regardless of the society. A university which tries to put its professors and its students into blinkers will not serve the cause of knowledge, nor the interests of the society in which it exists... What we expect from our university is both a complete objectivity in the search for truth, and also commitment to our society - a desire to serve it... And I do not believe this dual responsibility - to objectivity and to service - is impossible of fulfillment.... To question that is, I believe, to pretend that a society can progress if it is based on falsity, or that the truth is so unimportant that it can be buried in intellectual tomes which have no relevance to the work of a people who are trying to revolutionize their conditions of life.<sup>89</sup>

The fact which justifies the heavy expenditure of resources on this one aspect of national life and development is that its research and the energies of its staff be offered freely to the community, and they must be relevant.



Applied research, however, is only a part of university work. Students must be helped to think scientifically so that they will be able to solve the problems they will face in the future. But in a developing countries there is an additional problem, commitment. The university buildings are designed for concentration on learning and thinking. Yet, there is a tremendous contrast in university conditions and the conditions in which the mass of the people live.

And the purpose of establishing the university is to make it possible for us to change these poverty-stricken lives. We do not build skyscrapers here so that a few very fortunate individuals can develop their own minds and then live in comfort, with intellectual stimulus making their work and their leisure interesting to themselves. We tax the people to build these places only so that young men and women may become efficient servants to them. There is no other justification for this heavy call being made on poor peasants.

How can the reality of this responsibility be maintained all the time for students who live here? How can we ensure that they remain - or become - constructively concerned about the task of transforming our national poverty, so that they regard the conditions here as an interim in their lives and not as something to which they are entitled?90

In traditional societies all individuals lived the same sort of life, a hard life in which the need for co-operation was obvious. The social institutions encouraged a psychology of independence. Yet now certain children are taken out of the community, given promises of individual advancement if they will work hard, and looked upon as though they are very special people who have a right to make heavy demands upon society in

return for making available the skills that the society has enabled them to acquire. There is a temptation for the student group to see itself as having rights but no responsibilities, to compare itself to students and graduates of universities in wealthy countries rather than with the masses who live on an annual income of about sixty dollars per head per year. Only a united effort for development will enable the transformation of the poor nations of the world. United effort must begin within Tanzania. The university student must learn to take for granted the fact that they are needed to work with their fellow citizens in National Service, in lonely upcountry posts and in difficult conditions. The university must become united with the rest of the society, its graduates should "merge themselves back into the communities from which they came, and transform them from within".<sup>91</sup> Work camps, vacation work, National Service, voluntary nation-building projects, and so on are all valuable, but the whole atmosphere of the university must be one of giving service and expecting service from all of its members and students. The prevailing attitude is one of social responsibility. "The role of a university in a developing country is to contribute; to give ideas, manpower, and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity and human development".<sup>92</sup>

In a very important speech given in the same year as "The Role of the Universities", Nyerere discusses the possible conflict between African nationalisms and Pan-Africanism and

the responsibility of the African university with respect to these outlooks. "The Dilemma of the Pan-Africanist" was given by President Nyerere at the inauguration of President Kaunda of Zambia as the first Chancellor of the University of Zambia, July 13, 1966. The dilemma he clarifies is the unreality of the words "I am an African". "On the one hand Pan-Africanism demands an African consciousness and an African loyalty; on the other hand is the fact that each Pan-Africanist must also concern himself with the freedom and development of one of the nations of Africa".<sup>93</sup> The establishment, for example, of a university in Dar es Salaam and one in Lusaka means that Africa has two extra centers of higher education for its 250 million people. However, there is more to it. Universities are part of a national educational system and they must promote a national outlook among the students. This is necessary because the present states were created by European decisions and if they are not to disintegrate into inevitably unviable smaller units - perhaps based on tribalism - which would be more vulnerable to foreign domination than the present nation-states, a national loyalty must be encouraged.

The process of national integration, implies that each state of Africa devises for itself a constitutional and a political structure which is most appropriate to its own history and problems. Each national government has to work for the economic development of its own country and the expansion of its own revenues. For example, each East African country, in the absence of a Federal Government, has had to develop its own

currency. Each country has to work for domestic industrialization if it is to profit. All of the states need to attract capital from outside and sell more goods to countries abroad. So, each of the 36 little states spend money to send delegates to trade talks and these delegates have to compete with each other. The result is worse terms of trade and aid for each country, but also suspicion between African states.

While it is true that in the long run the whole of Africa would be best served by unity, "it is equally true, as Lord Keynes is reported to have said, that 'in the long run we will all be dead'."94 Although the people have shown their willingness to sacrifice for the future by their development plans, they have suffered poverty too long and can not wait or regress while leaders wonder at the goal of unity. And some leaders would rather be big people in a small state than less important people in a bigger state. Then, too, some states are and will be the weaker there will be talk of imperialism. If the small nation's leaders approach the bigger state there will be talk of betrayal and lack of patriotism. Moreover, others are anxious to keep Africa weak and divided and sow suspicion and disunity. But if the leaders say, "Let us carry on alone, let us forget this mirage of unity and freedom for the whole of Africa' ... in 150 years' time, Africa will be where Latin America is now, instead of having the strength and economic well being which is enjoyed by the United States of America".95



Unity, says Nyerere, will require sacrifices and bring difficulties in its early stages. It will be difficult to achieve and to maintain. Therefore, the determination that unity shall come must start with a psychological acceptance of its requirements. For one thing, leaders in a country must be loyal to each other, refrain from attacking each other in public however much they disagree in private. "They may think a particular individual has invited trouble, but if it comes they do not rejoice. They rally round to try and minimize the effect of that trouble on the nation".<sup>96</sup> Africa leaders, Nyerere says, can do likewise for Africa. For instance, Tanzania has broken relations with Britain over the question of Rhodesia. Zambia is landlocked and dependent on Rhodesian goods and communications; it could not do the same as Tanzania in this matter. But Tanzania does have the responsibility to do everything possible to help Zambia free itself of those inherited chains to the racist regime of the South. Africa can co-operate in economic development, trade and economic institutions even if all African states are unwilling to surrender national sovereignty now. The difference will only grow if deliberate moves toward unity are not made. In some parts of Africa political union will be possible even before there is economic integration, although it will take time and the development of new unifying factors to undo decades or centuries of administrative or political separation.

Unity does not have to be a dream, it can be a vision which inspires. While the present leaders of Africa are grappling with serious and urgent problems within their states, dealing with dangers from the outside and trying to convince the people that an international road or railway is a worthy expenditure, the universities will have the time and ability to think out the practical problem of achieving the goal of unification. Their service in national development is vital, and yet, students and staff have the opportunity to think and learn without direct responsibility for day-to-day affairs. The universities can themselves move in the direction of Pan-African unity. Student exchanges, shared expertise, and other links in intellectual life can be worked out by the universities. "Let the universities put proposals before our Government and then demand from us politicians a reasoned answer on the basis of African unity if we do not agree!"<sup>97</sup>

President Nyerere is an ex-school teacher. On August 27, 1966 he opened the extensions to the Morogoro Teachers' College, 120 miles out of Dar es Salaam, and delivered a speech entitled "The Power of Teachers". In this speech he hopes to encourage more young men and women to become teachers and to correct the attitude which attributes more prestige to a career in Government service in the clerical or executive capacities. Although it is true, he says, that teachers do not make rules for society or act as the spokesmen for those who do, or decide who shall have what opportunity or privilege - acts which are

really determined by law and not the civil servant - teachers do have great power in the society.

Little children have developed some character traits and have absorbed some ideas through life in the family. But when they come to the school they are approaching for the first time the things which are connected with the community outside the family. Then they form ideas of what standards should be applied in non-family situations. The home environment and parents' attitudes should not be underestimated, but neither should the role of the teacher. Teachers do more than impart knowledge as contained in the syllabuses, how the teacher teaches is still more important than what he teaches. Teaching by being an example of what is being taught affects behavior more than words ever can. How the teacher treats people and his own responsibility is more important than what is being said in civics class. Nyerere has written elsewhere that "Socialism, like Democracy, is an attitude of mind". And attitudes are shaped largely when a person is very young. Those who have the responsibility of working with children, then, can make or ruin a society. The nation is only as great or good as its citizens make it. "Its leadership may be good, bad, or indifferent, but if the people are awake and aware of themselves it will not for long be completely unrepresentative of the attitudes in the society. And the truth is that it is teachers more than any other single group of peoples who determine these attitudes, and who shape the ideas and aspirations of the nation".<sup>98</sup>

From traditonal African society there is the inheritance of concepts of equality, democracy and socialism, but also economic backwardness. From the colonial period there are concepts of arrogant individualism and competition, but also knowledge about technical progress. It is the teachers who ultimately have the power to decide "whether Service or Self shall be the dominant motive in 1990 and thereafter". "It is our teachers who have the real power to determine whether Tanzania will succeed in modernizing the economy without losing the attitudes which allowed every human being to maintain his self-respect and earn the respect of his fellows while working in harmony with them".<sup>99</sup>



## CHAPTER FOUR

### FOOTNOTES

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## C H A P T E R V.

### DIRECTIONS

#### Black Studies

Over the last five or ten years, the academic community in the United States has been increasingly challenged to clarify the fundamental responsibilities of the university for student development, community service, and basic research. C. Wright Mills sharply undercut the concept of the neutrality of the university, discarding it as an outworn myth and a cop-out on the part of the intellectual class. His essay, "The Social Role of the Intellectual", discusses the frustration and self-deception of even the "liberal" university intellectual who is under the illusion that his thinking makes a difference.<sup>1</sup> As modern society makes the centers of political initiative less and less accessible, and the more the intellectual's knowledge of affairs grows, the more powerless he feels to control what he is able to foresee. It is Mill's thesis that there are three styles of reflection available to the intellectual who recognizes and is trying to respond to the "tragedy of irresponsibility" in the politics of American society. First, the intellectual can define ethical and political problems in terms of the way they affect the individual person. This kind of evaluation, however, does not confront the issues at their sources. On the other hand, if only the objective trends of society are considered, one's own biases and creativity are overlooked. Thus, objective considerations of events are too

often a form of retreat. As Mills writes:

Simply to understand is an inadequate alternative to giving in to a personal sense of tragedy. It is not even a true alternative; increased understanding may only deepen the sense of tragedy. Simply to understand is perhaps an ideal of those who are alienated but by no means disinherited-i.e., those who have jobs but don't believe in the work they are doing. Since "the job" is a pervasive political sanction and censorship of most middle class intellectuals, the political psychology of the sacred employee becomes relevant. Simply understanding is an ideal of the man who has a capacity to know truth but not the chance, the skill, or the guts, as the case may be, to communicate them with political effectiveness.<sup>2</sup>

Mills suggests that personal morals and intellectual interests must be combined with an attempt to make "a public difference". The shaping of the society we shall live in and the manner we shall live in it are effected by political decisions which have consequences for the realms of intellect and personal morals. "Because of the expanded reach of politics, it is our own personal style of life and reflection we are thinking about when we think about politics".<sup>3</sup> Therefore, a philosophy which is not a personal escape involves taking a stand about the body politic. Activity, including communication, is what renews the integrity of knowledge. Episodes of detachment, may be necessary in order to reflect upon truthful and adequate solutions. But the intellectual who makes this "phase of detachment" an indefinite period on the grounds that one cannot act on insufficient knowledge is deceiving himself. If only one half of the relevant knowledge which we now possess were put

into the service of the ideals which leaders profess, most of these ideals could be actualized in short order. The tacit or explicit sanction the scholar gives to illusions which uphold authority and which are known to be illusions are often justified by the plea of "insufficient knowledge" or by unanchored expectations of the future. It is easier to discuss a future, where there are yet no facts, than to confront the troublesome questions of the present and recent past. Everyone talks and plans for a warless future, but few recognize its causes within each nation and then act to change that nation. "Discussions of the future which accept the present basis for it serve either as diversions from immediate realities or as tacit intellectual sanctions of future disasters".<sup>4</sup> The struggle for power within the nation are determinants of those decisions which schedule world affairs. These internal struggles can be influenced by the intellectual community, if a critical eye is focused on the decisions of the present, if he innovates methods of communication that are not controlled by economic and political vested interests, and if he prepares his audience for the necessity and possibility of resistance to the coercive power always present in decisive political questions.

Black studies programs are the result of a demand on the part of black students and intellectuals that education contribute to their personal clarity and commitment. Education should provide students with the means to understand the meaning of their own lives and to become more aware of the meaning



of other people's lives. Black studies is a way in which black students can learn about themselves and what has effected them, gain access to a record of the past and present which is not distorted by racism, and learn the skills necessary to interpret the objective world. It should also provide a political perspective, that is, an opportunity to develop the confidence and commitment required to effect change in the conditions which oppress black people. It does not exlude vocational preparation, in specialized disciplines, but it insists that education should not merely train the student in the techniques he will be expected to know or indoctrinate him in the ideology that will make him acceptable to his white colleagues". Black studies is intended to include a rigorous analysis of what the job for which the student is preparing means to its holder, to the black community, and to the dominant white society. There is no way education can change, in itself, the discrimination black people face in jobs, cultural fields, housing, public accomodations and other social activities, but it can enable the student to scrutinize the economic and political arrangements, and their underlying social and moral assumptions, that condemn black people to such discrimination. It can also provide the privacy and authority necessary to black students if they are to explore the power of the black community to change these conditions and defend itself from social and cultural abuses.

The potential and actual relationships of black studies and Black Power has tended to force relations from whites and blacks, liberals and conservatives, on all kinds of issues, from substance to control. There is much controversy among scholars, faculty, administrators and students as to how to define the field, who should develop it, what research is needed and how it should be conducted. There is not a uniform model for incorporating the field into existing curricular structures; nor is there a consensus on who should be encouraged or permitted to study and teach in the field. Generalizations about the results of such programs as have been developed already are treacherous, though the Institute for the Black World is collecting information. Still, it is hard to say what kind of data can be relied upon as meaningful predictors of a program's success when the objectives of Black Studies are not even agreed upon.

Andrew Billingsley has contributed an article on the topic to Nathan Wright's anthology, What Black Educators are Saying. "The Black Presence in American Education" is a survey of current trends of demand and supply of Black Studies programs. Billingsley does not establish a theoretical framework from which a basic conception of black studies as a legitimate academic area can be defined. Without a criterion with which to evaluate the different structural and academic approaches to black studies one is stuck either with the dogmatism of racial chauvinism or the relativism of Billingsley's attitude of different strokes for different folks. He states that black stu-

dies "at its best...is designed for several audiences or student bodies".<sup>5</sup> These are black students, white students, black faculty, white faculty, the black community, the white community; in short, the whole society. This may, indeed, be the scope of the long-range effect of black studies. However, at this time, the most pressing issue is the one being raised by black students all over the land - they need an education that will prepare them to participate fully in the psychological, economic, political and cultural liberation of the black community. Billingsley is seemingly more concerned with the needs of higher education institutions, needs which may be incompatible with the rigorous discipline and political perspective required if black studies is to become a means for training committed and culturally liberated Afro-American intellectuals who are prepared to serve the international black community.

The issue of structure is very important to the survival of black studies programs, contrary to what Mr. Billingsley thinks. When, for instance, he says that the comprehensive course envisioned by Harvard "may be an effective instrument for the study of the black experience" and "may be quickly and easily installed"<sup>6</sup> he reveals either a lack of familiarity with the tremendous amount of scholarship pertinent to the study of the black experience or else he is timid about confronting a powerful and conservative institution such as Harvard. With regard to small colleges attempting to offer black studies, a better suggestion would be to try and develop a consortium pro-

gram with neighboring schools. Another type of structure mentioned by Billingsley is the cross-listing of courses developed within the traditional departments. That is weak. A "loosely coordinated program"<sup>7</sup> will produce students who have loosely coordinated ideas. Also, the major problem with this approach is, as Billingsley mentions, the limitations placed "on innovation and relevance to the black experience"<sup>8</sup>. "Programs" do not have the power to appoint their own faculty and authorize their own courses. The "center" of Afro-American studies, for example the one at the University of Michigan (which is classified as an "area study"), is another type of dependent structure. All professorial appointments must be "joint", that is, consistent with the philosophy and needs of the traditional departments. Such a "center" may find itself the ball in a game to see which department will employ the director of Afro-American studies, thus weighting the academic bias of the "center". Black faculty are hired by the departments at half price, the center paying the other half, at a time when black scholars are very much in demand and are publishing heartily. These arrangements are weak and are without excuse at wealthy institutions such as Michigan, Yale, or Cornell, where the only obstacles to autonomous departments of Afro-American studies are the chauvinistic and paternalistic attitudes the state legislatures, trustees, administrators, or faculty hold.



What Black Educators are Saying contains an address by Nathan Wright on black studies, entitled "Educational Redefinition". Wright caricatures "our" black students, "who want the America of today to work", as saying to whites "use us as a laboratory for developing the capacities and techniques for change which will be sorely needed for your future survival as well as ours".<sup>9</sup> No doubt there are many who earn their way speaking in this vein, however, the main artery is carrying forth a swarm of proud, belligerent, internationally conscious young people who have not forgotten the experiments of history or the more recent extermination of the Panthers and who have charted their path too carefully to be lured into society's laboratory for problem cases. Dr. Wright assures the white audience he is addressing that "our" black students have much to teach all of us in terms of empathetic skills" and "want us to come to see them as persons determined to meet ruggedly and bravely a challenging new world".<sup>10</sup> Dr. Wright's approach, defining the function of black studies as being to enlighten white scholars, is a pernicious form of exploitation of black students. Whether or not whites come to see them as such, a generation of students is determined not only "to meet" this world, but to change it. Other points, seemingly minor, reveal aspects of distorted perception. It is a projection of his own orientation, for example, that enables Wright to say that black students are afforded a measure of pride in that 60% percent of the undergraduates enrolled in black studies are white.

If the enrollment figure is true, to the politically aware student this apathy on the part of many black students would be a source of frustration and an indication that something is wrong with the program. Wright is very premature in saying that Afro-American studies "will serve primarily a white public" in need of a cultural corrective while black students will be involved in something called Urban Affairs and Human Development.<sup>11</sup> Afro-American studies in no way is exclusive of "hard-core human-development needs of those who reside in the center-city environment". The agenda of black studies has certainly included action, but within the sphere of strategy that is really open to the influence of the university. Empathy and federal money alone will not be sufficient to inform the decisions of Wright's urban planners. A thorough comprehension of the political and economic machinations of corporate interests, and of the cultural foundation of Afro-American life, values, and aspirations is basic to original policy-making in this area. A vision of the whole, of the place of black people in the dynamics and interrelationships of American and international society, is the surest antidote to step-gap measures that do little more than disappoint people.

In his essay "Black Studies, a Political Perspective", in the Massachusetts Review, Autumn 1969, Mike Thelwell cogently observes that the "political struggle for liberation and cultural integrity must be accompanied by an intellectual offensive - and

this is one of the tasks of black studies".<sup>12</sup> In this respect, it is imperative that the psychological and spiritual demoralization of the small minority of black students at white institutions cease and be countered with a re-examination and rehabilitation of the African and Afro-American cultural heritage and political history. Certain critics view this type of objective as being prejudiced. Martin Kilson has written about the "militant view of Afro-American Studies" as follows:

Indeéd they demand that Afro-American studies serve explicit ideological ends-namely the glorification of the black experience in America and Africa and the political interpretation of that experience in a manner that would serve current endeavors at militant political organization of Negroes. The psychological purpose of a one-sided glorification of the Negro would be to help rid the Negro of an inferiority complex imposed by white racist evaluations of his past. And the political purpose of a radical interpretation of the black experience-past and present-would be to help train black militant cadres who would undertake revolutionary activity in the black ghetto upon completing college.<sup>13</sup>

Although Kilson's is a sincere concern, it should be put in perspective. No doubt a few charlatans profess to be black intellectuals and yet have an aversion to the painful truth. Then again, enough sound scholarship and historical evidence exists, despite the traditional indifference of the scholarly establishment and the censorship of oppressive authorities, to justify the view that the African and Afro-American heritage

has indeed been unjustly disparaged and misinterpreted and warrants re-evaluation and even glorification where deserving. Few proponents of black studies would argue with the necessity of looking past and present short-comings and mistakes square in the eye so as to learn from them for the future. Furthermore, Kilson's fear that graduates of black studies programs will go back to the ghettos and engage in revolutionary activities is also a sincere concern. He is correct in saying that a radical interpretation of the black experience has a political purpose. However, as Thelwell points out,

"Scholarly objectivity is a delusion that liberals (of both races) may subscribe to. Black people and perceptive whites know better. The fact is that the intellectual establishment distinguishes itself by its slavish acceptance of the role assigned to it by the power-brokers of the society. It has always been the willing servant of wealth and power, and the research done in the physical sciences, the humanities and social sciences has been, with very few honorable exceptions, in service to established power, which has, in this country, always been antithetical to the interests of black people. The goals of the research undertaken, the questions asked, the controlling assumptions governing it, and consequently, the results obtained have always fitted comfortably into a social consensus which has been, by definition, racist.<sup>14</sup>

A most blatant case of political involvement on the part of a major university is discussed by Harry Edwards in Black Students.<sup>15</sup> In 1968 students began a campaign to persuade Cornell University to sell its stock in a banking consortium which had come to the aid of the apartheid regime in South Africa a few years before. Only one voter on the Cornell Board of Trustees favored



selling, despite considerable faculty and student pressure. Eleven of these trustees were also directors of firms which have investments in South Africa, five of these men were members of the Executive Committee of the Cornell Board of Trustees.

The university conducts its research and professional development with the needs of the dominant society as its guide. Autonomous departments of Afro-American Studies can at least provide an effective organ within the structure of the university which will be principally directed to the educational needs of the international black community. Such a department, claiming a just portion of the resources of the university, would be interdisciplinary and ensure "an historical, substantive progression and organic coherence in its offerings".<sup>16</sup> It should also have the flexibility needed to innovate projects which enable students to do field study and social service in black communities. Incidentally, the way in which Thelwell's department at the University of Massachusetts is organized supports the view that it is necessary for a department of Afro-American Studies at a white institution to control and define the quality and terms of its program. It must prohibit the recruitment of black scholars from the predominantly Negro colleges so as not to contribute to the "brain drain" from these southern schools. The same problem is found in the black schools of the Third World. Thelwell proposes that exchange programs

for students and professors between black studies programs in the United States and Third World Universities would be the best way of sharing expertise and expanding the scope of unified endeavor. Because there are too few academics, black or white, "who are qualified by their training in 'traditional' white-culture-bound graduate schools to undertake the aggressively radical transformation of their fields that is the purpose of these programs", the basic qualification for faculty recruitment should not be pigmentation.

This means that an effective black studies faculty must be recruited from the handful of academics who have a particular radical stance towards the re-evaluation of the treatment of the black experience in their disciplines, and from among the ranks of active black intellectuals with experience in the political and cultural battlefronts of this country and the Third World.<sup>17</sup>

The core courses offered by the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies are recommended to black students who are not black studies majors and are optional for interested whites. The academic department and its community development component are complemented by the offerings of the Black Repertory Theater and the Cultural Center. The Cultural Center is for the preservation, development, and presentation to the general community the various expressions of the cultural life of the black community.

Dr. Vincent Harding of Atlanta and his associates at the Institute of the Black World have begun to develop a center where black intellectuals can pool their resources, have sup-

port for personal research, be encouraged to make their ideas known and effective, and train other people. A long-range program of work for the coming years is outlined by Dr. Harding in the Massachusetts Review <sup>18</sup> and includes the following tasks:

1. The definition and refining of the field now loosely called "Black Studies".
2. The development of a new Consortium for Black Education. Institute of the Black World staff and Associates will offer their services to students, faculty and administrators at historically black institutions of higher education.
3. The encouragement of the basic academic research in the experience of the peoples of African descent. In addition, senior staff members will offer at the Institute one seminar per semester related to his research area.
4. The encouragement of black artists.
5. The development of new materials and methods for the teaching of black children. The Institute is working with two independent community schools in Atlanta and some relationships with the Atlanta public schools have also been formed. The results of experimentation with new content and approaches will be fed back into the teacher training programs of the colleges and universities associated with the Institute, through workshops, seminars and new curriculum.
6. The development of a Black Policy Studies Center will bring solid tools of social analysis to bear on the contemporary struggle for black liberation in America, will bring persons and organizations representing the spectrum of thought in the black community together periodically, will serve as a place of creative withdrawal for activists who need to get themselves together and rethink their future strategies, and will eventually move to the training of community organizers.
7. The establishment of creative links with black scholars, artists, educators, and organizers in other areas of the Black World.

8. The preparation of a cadre of men and women who are at once precisely trained in the scholarship of the black experience and fully committed to the struggles of the black world.
9. The sponsoring of short-term seminars and of vacation and summer workshops and conferences, both independently and in concert with one or more of the co-operating institutions.
10. The development of a publishing program. A newsletter of Black Studies is to be one of the Institute's first periodicals.

The institute and its sister institutions of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Center and the Atlanta University complex are in an excellent position to play a central role in defining the field of Afro-American studies and creating some of the models for black education that are so urgently needed. Hopefully, the Institute can become a resource center which, drawing ideas and methods from scattered and isolated workers throughout the nation, can stimulate the sense of national consciousness and cooperative endeavor throughout the Afro-American community. Other centers of activity, like the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Malcolm X Community College in Chicago, or the Center for Black Education in Washington, D.C., may become as they develop, with the Institute of the Black World, a network of institutions of higher education which can integrate and coordinate the skilled resources of the black community.

#### We Shall Overcome

President Nyerere of Tanzania called for a type of primary and secondary level education which would prepare child-



ren to be of service to the society and which would be an education which would promote values of self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and cooperative endeavor as well as sharpen their intellectual faculties. Schools need to be viewed as "open" institutions that serve people not just children, and parents and other community people have a responsibility to help the schools work while children have the responsibility to develop skills that are of service to the community. If children went through this kind of educational process in the elementary and secondary stages, those who go to higher education would not be vulnerable to alienation and irresponsibility as the consequence of an extended period of intensive academic study at the university. By the time they got to the university they would have a realistic sense of what they can do best and what the community needs, and would have already experienced the satisfaction that constructive and contributive knowledge and work brings to the individual. Those who do not go on would have developed useful and rewarding skills. The freedom schools of Mississippi were the beginning of a community based concept of Afro-American education.

The summer of 1964 was the summer that SNCC organized the Mississippi Project. Nearly a thousand white summer visitors came in response to the call for volunteers to work and live with Negro families in Mississippi. "Sons and daughters of corporation executives, of reputable lawyers and physicians, of nationally known politicians and educators, and even the child-

ren of owners of factories and industrial plants in Mississippi (as well, of course, as members of hundreds of plain American families), gave the lie to those who tried to downgrade the caliber of youngsters willing to risk their lives for a cause".<sup>19</sup> A hundred facts of Mississippi life were thrown at them, thereby changing their concept of America and of themselves. SNCC organizers trained them and sent them out to register voters, help in the development of an indigenous leadership, build community centers, teach in Freedom schools, confront threatening whites, and get Northern support and pressure on Washington from home. The big story in Mississippi that summer was the efforts and sacrifices of the people that live there and who had everything to loose, nowhere to run, and nothing to go back to after it was all over. But as a tactical move, the recruitment of white volunteers was realistic - a white skin in America, after all, is more valuable than a black skin. For the white volunteers the experience was transforming, these are the students who have had to dissociate themselves from their own people in order to live with themselves. One of the volunteers wrote home to her parents:

There comes a time when you have to do things which your parents do not agree with...Convictions are worthless in themselves. In fact, if they don't become actions, they are worse than worthless-they become an evil in themselves. You can't run away from broadened awareness...If you try, it follows you in your conscience, or you become a self-deceiving person who has numbed some of his humanness. I think you have to live to the fullest extent to which you have gained an awareness or you are less than the human being you are capable of being...

This doesn't apply just to civil rights or social consciousness but to all the experiences of life...20

Another student wrote at the beginning of the summer of another kind of awareness:

...right now we don't know what it means to be a Negro and even if we did, the Negroes here would not accept us...In their eyes we're rich middle or upper-class whites who have taken off the summer to help the Negro.

Intellectually, I think many of us whites can understand the Negroes' resentment but emotionally we want to be 'accepted' at face value... I've always thought that my relations with Negroes have been fairly honest. I've gone to a predominantly Negro high school and participated in athletics with them. I've gotten to know Negroes in college...I haven't gone out of my way to meet them but those I have met I have gotten along well with, if not intimately. What I mean to say is that I never detected a "difference", or an inability to communicate with one another... But what I am finding here is a different situation and perhaps a more honest one...21

The volunteers searched their minds and hearts and asked questions of their kin folks by letter, questions that would have to be asked again when they returned home.

...I begin to realize that it is a war that I will enter and that the enemy is even lunatic, even driven into frenzy by his fear. But also I learn that the enemy is very much myself and all of America and, perhaps, of humanity...I cannot agree with the 'sympathetic' American who from his 'safe' and carefully maintained distance says that we must slow up, that we must not push. I suspect this attitude, as I suspect that part of it which I see in myself, because it says that something abnormal and therefore ominous, a naked reality, is drawing too close, and threatening the sacred status quo. I think that there is too much piety and wise head-shak-

ing about "Mississippi"... Has everybody in the U.S. asked himself-asked himself! - am I prejudiced? asked himself persistently until he arrives at that prejudice that is inevitably there by the nature of our society?22

These white youth received an education, more fulfilling to them than the one their parents had been able to buy for them at Stanford, Smith or Harvard. That summer also meant alot to the children who attended the Freedom Schools. The response of the black community to the opening of the Freedom Schools was enthusiastic. By midsummer 41 schools with 2,165 pupils had been established. In Hattiesburg the volunteer teachers expected 75 students. On registration day for Hattiesburg 600 students appeared!<sup>23</sup> They ranged in age from 8 to 82. Elizabeth Sutherland writing about the Freedom Schools said that they "stood for everything which the regular schools had discouraged".

They were a sort of mental revolution, requiring special tactics; a 'citizenship curriculum' in which reading, writing and speaking skills would be developed through discussion of Negro history, literature, the Movement, and the Mississippi power structure. All the pupils had a session of this course, which went by different names at different projects, and then they chose from more academic subjects for the rest of their time at the school-algebra, chemistry, biology, whatever they asked to have taught. The evening classes for adults offered health, literacy and typing classes, again with an emphasis on life as the Negroes knew it.24

The Freedom Schools were an effort to fortify that sense of authority and self-reliance that the smallest child knows although inarticulately, so that the ravages of racism and poverty might not take their toll on the growing person. They were an attempt



to offer the children the best of education and teaching possible so that they might expect and demand more from the public schools of Mississippi. They were an attempt to inform the children of their basic rights as human beings and citizens of the United States and to open up the field of vision that the Mississippi school administrators had so diligently tried to keep sealed.

The Free Southern Theatre, conceived in the spring of 1964 by several SNCC workers, gave Martin Duberman's play, In White America, in thirteen communities that summer. Many of the schools mimeographed "Freedom" newspapers, the students doing the reading, editing, typing, and deciding. The material was written by the students' reportage, political essays, poetry about themselves and their feelings and how to change things for the better. Because the schools were entirely voluntary, with no punishment arising from lateness or absence or noise, there was little problem with discipline. And in the rural areas students came to the Freedom Schools after attending regular school, for the Negro schools are open from 8 to 2:30 in the summer so that the children can pick cotton in September and October. Even though the communities had good reason to fear sending the children to the Freedom Schools - there were bomb and burning threats - they did send them and supported the schools and staff in many ways. Most of the schools were housed in community churches. Others were held in the Centers the community built. In Harmony, Miss., men of the community ham-

mered, poured cement, and cut the wood that the teenagers laid and nailed down to form a sub-floor. Women cooked and served the workers. A local man gave land for one Community Center for the price of one dollar. Teenagers sold refreshments and worked to raise money for the Center. Membership cards were sold for a dollar. Even the small children helped. The work went on up to 10 hours a day with 100 degrees of humid heat. At night the building was guarded against terrorists by four armed men or teenagers. The community assumed responsibility for its Center, which was to include the library, a snackbar, office space and recreation area. A board of elected trustees supervised the Center.<sup>25</sup>

The teachers at the Freedom Schools were also political organizers. They prepared adults to take the registration test and brought them to the courthouses to register. They worked with the communities so that the people would be united and not leave individual members vulnerable to racist reprisal. The younger people participated in political activity - picketing, had workshops in leadership and confrontation techniques. They role-played everything from Congressional Committee to Senator and Mrs. Eastland and Senator Stennis and his wife having cocktails and talking about their "uppity niggers". The children encouraged the adults to register to vote. On August 7-9 the Freedom School Convention was held in Meridian to formulate the youth platform for the Freedom Democratic Party.<sup>26</sup> Each school sent three student representatives and a coordinator. Eight

different committees covered areas of legislation: jobs, schools, federal aid, foreign affairs, voting, housing, public accommodations, and health. They then presented their resolutions to the vote of the general assembly. For the first time black youth from all over the state came together to discuss their common aims.

The very form and substance of conventional schools produces the most commonly perceived problems in black pupils. They do not learn what the school declares it teaches, they drop out or are failed out as soon as this is legally acceptable. The schools are just not meeting the needs of black students - human needs for physical and emotional safety and security; psychosocial needs of love, recognition, status, affiliation, and potency, agency or effect; needs for aesthetic creation and recreation, knowledge-seeking, spiritual development and self-actualization.<sup>27</sup> The mission of the school and its teachers and administrators has been rigidly forged to convey students into college gates that contain experiences just as remote from the needs of black students as those the public schools purvey. "Covering" the year's worth of academic achievement remains the primary objective of primary and secondary education. Social and personal realities are not admitted into the conventional definition of quality education; they disrupt the schedule, threaten the traditional method of qualifying teachers, and challenge the decision-making authority of those at the top of the educational bureaucracy. The social and personal concerns

of students may be slipped in the regular school program but only as a way of getting learners to buy the old ends. Basic skills and academic mastery are important and should be continual objective of education. However, they have become all important and this is the problem: content such as social reality or personal concerns are only legitimatized in the institution if it can be used as a vehicle to reach the academic objectives. Students sense a "phoniness" about this strategy and are turned off.

One of the most stimulating proposals for a new view of the school is a school process which has the immediate community and its residents as its "curriculum". Postman and Weingarter have described the dramatically innovative contours such a school might possess.

There are no "subjects" in the conventional sense; the community and its problems and the students working to develop possible solutions embody all "subjects". The students-across all of the age ranges now found in school-are the primary action agents, and they are paid (rewarded) not merely with "grades", but with currency they value, including public recognition... This kind of schooling need not confine students to sitting in classrooms. The whole city can and should - be a continuous "learning laboratory", with the immediate community as the source of immediate reward for all activity.<sup>28</sup>

If the provision of direct and immediate service to the community were the primary objective of the process of learning a number of important skills would be elicited: identifying community problems, planning possible solutions on a number of levels, carrying out a plan that will act as a service, a test of one's ability, and a test of one's sense of reality. The school would



thus act as a local think tank with the intellectual activity focused on problems the students, community members and staff agree are problems. Students should develop self-reliance, taking responsibility throughout, with teachers playing an advisory role. The services such a school might offer to the community include community action and planning programs, running from information services using newsletters, a magazine, and films to a rat extermination program or voter education and political organization. A range of services tailored to immediate daily problems, including repair services for household appliances would be a second category. A range of cultural services might include student produced musical and dramatic programs, puppet shows, films, television programs, etc. The students might also organize a range of services in or to city agencies - hospitals, police, fire, sanitation, parks, museums, government, and even to private business - both to increase their own skills and to protect the interests of the black community in these areas.

The school could also get into the production of clothing, food, household and personal decorations. These products could be sold or otherwise distributed and this adds merchandising skills to the program. Private business and industry might be included to provide "awards" in various forms to students whose participation ought to be recognized beyond the performance itself. Business and industry could apprentice students at various points in the program and provide some "con-

sultants as Postman and Weingartner envision the community service school, it would not be a restatement of "vocational" education as it is traditionally known. They are suggesting a spectrum of activities addressed to community needs in which students have the responsibility to assess the needs of the community, invent, initiate and implement the programs of assistance to the community. Instead of producing technical and administrative elites, the goal of the new education should be the production of masses of people who are capable of self-government. Such an educational institution might be able to minimize the continuation of bureaucratic agencies populated by functionaries who are not part of the community which takes the money of the people out to the suburbs. The students would learn much of what is now included in the lifeless 'curricula' of the chair-centered school, but they would develop literacy and sophistication in the media languages, learn chemistry, physics, political science and history in active ways that increase their political social and individual effectiveness. This does not exclude rigorous analysis, study, and reflection but it does make human needs the evaluating criteria of what knowledge is to be regarded as significant. Arrangements could be made with colleges and universities, especially with black institutions, to admit students on the basis of performance in community-building activities instead of on the basis of "grades" alone. This type of school will probably not be supported finan-

cially by the American government, because the aim is to replace the existing power structure. The practice of self-reliance will make the schools viable.

### Teacher Training

A new type of teacher is needed in schools that have as their objective community service. It will not be easy to disestablish the present teaching force and set up a new form of training and certification. But it is a necessary part of developing a new educational system. If an increasing number of kids take pot, speed, and beans, it is because of their mistaken belief that these drugs will "liberate" their minds. These desperate devices are an indication that educators are not doing the work needed. A new system of education is now a question of survival. It is not likely that the social group which teachers represent in the schools will abdicate their positions of power voluntarily. The struggle by black parents and students, centering around community control of the schools, is not likely to evaporate either. The hiring and dismissing of teachers and supervisors, the setting of curriculum and methods of instruction, budget freedom, and the power to make plans and contracts are powers that community people will continue to seek jurisdiction over.

Grace Lee Boggs has vividly described what may be expected as the revolt of blacks against the authoritarian structure of American education continues:

In the foreseeable future, not just in terms of months but in terms of years, not just at the beginning of school but throughout the year, everyone of us, students, parents, teachers, and administrators, must be ready for the reality of school boycotts, sit-ins, parents ousting teachers or taking over schools during teacher strikes, clashes (usually nonviolent but sometimes violent) between parents and teachers, students and teachers, teachers and teachers, students and students, students and parents, administrators and administrators, often with police and police dogs or armed militants guarding one or another side of the controversy.

...The most important question for us as educators is not whether we like it or don't like it, but (1) which side we will be on as the conflict sharpens and (2) how much we are ready to sacrifice materially and free our minds psychologically in order to bring a new system of education into being.<sup>29</sup>

It will not be enough that teachers have certain academic or economic skills to give students. They will have to have the commitment, and experience that informs commitment, to challenge the political as well as social, economic and cultural institutions which systematically elevate whites and systematically degrade blacks in American society. The United States is technologically the most developed nation in the world, but its political life is very backward. The growth of the Wallace movement reveals the miseducation of a whole society. Wallace glorifies a vision of the American way of life which is racist, materialistic, opportunistic, and politically irresponsible. The task of the educator of black children becomes, therefore, to assist them and the community to which they belong to do the thinking and activity necessary to change the political relations now extant between whites and blacks.



The goal of the new trends being developed in teacher education is the creation of a new type of person. Carl Rogers, Maslow, McLuhan, Dewey and many other educators have brought into being a concept of the teacher as one who must be able to do something different than conserve and transmit the old ideas, concepts, attitudes, skills, and perceptions. Because the modern world is not stable it becomes critical to unlearn the irrelevant concepts as a prior condition to the new learnings that present and future survival calls for. The qualities listed as being internal to the "new man" are that he be actively inquiring, flexible, creative, innovative, tolerant, liberal in personality, and that he be able to "face uncertainty and ambiguity without disorientation and formulate new meanings to meet changes in the environment which threaten individual and mutual survival".<sup>30</sup> All of these qualities are surely important aspects of the stable and mature personality. However, we would add that in the face of threats to survival that are as well-known and long-standing as those which threaten the welfare and integrity of the Afro-American community, tolerance or liberalism might very well be a criminal ambivalence or cowardice on the part of the educator of that community's children. Stable and mature people are capable of anger. The committed teacher and students will no doubt share much anger when they regard the realities of slum life. At this point, however, an honest reaction or simple awareness triggers emotional energies that need to be constructively dealt with. First, the

learner can be assisted to think through the alternatives open to him. In the case of awareness about the dehumanizing conditions of ghetto life the options are to cope or adjust, to escape, to fight blindly, or to reconstruct the ghetto environment. At some point thought must be followed by action if individual development and social participation are among the objectives of the school program.

Teacher education must have prospective teachers do what they will help their students to do later. This means, firstly, that the teacher-to-be must become a self-directed learner, that he be encouraged to ask questions about what he's doing, why he is doing it and what it is good for. His academic work should show some evidence of personal and social consciousness. Secondly, although different individuals will naturally have different strengths and interests - for example some are technically inclined, others are subject-orientated or theoretically creative, while others are skilled organizers and politically effective action people - the teacher who will be working with black students should have both a cognitive and affective commitment to the destiny of the black community. In addition to differentiated interest (including coursework in educational techniques and methods), the teacher's preparation should include a semester of course work in a black studies program which will provide a socio-economic analysis of the predicament of the Afro-American community, an understanding of its cultural sentiments and historical traditions, and a political analysis of

of the community's present situation and future goals. A second semester should be planned community service, in which the teacher-to-be lives in the black community and works with a community political or social action organization that is preferably relatively or completely independent of government aegis. He should serve in a capacity that suits his interests and talents, even though the interest is a secondary one next to teaching. This semester should be designed to enable the student teacher to desocialize himself if necessary, to develop a political self-concept, and to begin to clarify his commitments. He should be responsible for a weekly report on changes in himself and in the community as a result of the work he is doing. The community organization should have the opportunity to interview, choose, and evaluate the student worker. Finally, a third semester should involve the placement of the student teacher in a school for teaching apprenticeship. The community board of education, a representative parent dominated organization with the authority to hire and fire, should ideally exist and evaluate the work of the student teacher. At the very least a community response to the student teacher's effort should be solicited. The final accreditation should be determined by the black studies department where the student has taken his course work and by which he has been supervised. This type of training could conceivably constitute a Master's Program in Afro-American Education offered by department of Afro-American studies.

## Implications for the Education

### Of White Youth

The type of teacher-training and selection process discussed above would no doubt result in a majority of black teachers in the Afro-American community. It would also take much of the responsibility for training Afro-American educators from traditional departments of education. Inevitably the almost desperate question arises from liberal educators, "You have said that there is something wrong with education and teacher training as it is now, but we are here and what can we do?" The answer is almost obvious, and yet it is easily evaded if the present task of the educational system is seen as the need to compensate for deficiencies in the Afro-American child, his home and his community. On the other hand, if the Euro-American educator can confront the pathology of racism, the role that racism has played in creating the American way of life and in distorting American institutions, he has a tremendous challenge before him. As blacks develop skills to overcome oppression, whites can either continue to educate their youth for the maintenance of dominance or they can begin an educational process that will inculcate attitudes and develop skills that will promote the reconstruction of American society.

The liberal reform movement in race relations, spurred on by massive civil rights protest, has just dealt with the superficial manifestations of racism. In order to change



the relations between the Afro-and Euro-American cultural groups it will be necessary to challenge the racism structured into every American institution and to reorganize these institutions from their very foundation. New institutions will probably have to replace the old forms in many cases, if social functions are to be carried out justly. As the inhumane practices of the society in regard to blacks become more visible, its contradictions in other spheres also become more unbearable. The genocidal destruction of whole nations abroad, the power of the military-industrial complex, the prostitution of American intellectuals and educational institutions, the commercialization of artists, the victimization of the consumer and the lack of social security guaranteed to the worker in order to keep a gigantic productive apparatus in continuous operation - all these are contradictions of the humane pretensions of this society. Government, lacking moral authority and popular assent, increasingly resorts to arbitrary decision and the force of violence to maintain "law and order" in response to radical protest.

The essential theoretical ingredients of black studies are a realistic cynicism about the "American Fantasy" and the awareness of ties binding Afro-Americans with the victims of white supremacy and colonial control around the world. The thrust of the black perspective has gone deep into the heart of American life, bringing not only the attitudes of a class of whites into question but the entire social, economic, political

and cultural fabric of the nation as well. White youths are just becoming aware of their own racism and the socialization they receive which fosters racism. The white youth's cultural revolution of the 1960's was a revolt against the heritage of Hiroshima, Birmingham, Selma, and Vietnam. It was a revolt, and it continues, against the materialism, the compulsiveness, the competitiveness, and the hypocrisy of Euro-American culture. They declared, "I will not whistle while I drop napalm, or drive smugly through the slums, or work from nine-to-five if I despise not only my job but my destiny". Their alternative was to immerse themselves in black culture. Like Norman Mailer's "The White Negro" they were trying to create a new nervous system for themselves. With the coming of the civil rights movement blacks became the moral conscience of America. Julius Lester writes: "Indeed, black became the cutting edge, the standard by which young whites measured themselves".<sup>31</sup> White youth had to completely cut themselves off from their own people and from the "privileges" that white skin bequeathed upon them. They stepped out from the secure but stultifying walls of their homes to live on the margin of the dominant society; blacks had been living on the boundary for centuries. At first they identified with black society, they imitated the music, the speech and the dance of blacks. And yet they had to be themselves for they were not black, nor did Afro-Americans view them as such. Many blacks resented the "encroachment" of white youth in their cultural territory, seeing the appropriation and profit off of

black music, for example, as another form of exploitation.

In the civil rights movement white youth were often motivated by guilt and could not help alienating folk by their condensation or assertiveness. Blacks resented being experimental fodder as white youth tested themselves to see if they would outgrow their racism. And so the white youth began to identify with each other, setting themselves in opposition to the people who live in little boxes and the people that finance the little boxes.

Though unguided and unclear, the rebel youth culture has been able to confront the possibility of mass annihilation that the combination of materialism and bombs has created. They have alienated themselves from the norms of the complex social institutions that presumably serve but are more likely to manipulate men. As Julius Lester has pointed out, in this respect black and white youth are "to a degree, following parallel courses, going in the same direction".<sup>32</sup> "Black youth", he says, "are presently involved in the process of deliberately alienating themselves and other blacks from the values and concepts and culture of Western society".<sup>33</sup> But, blacks do not see their alienation as a destination in itself. Their vision is not the anarchical world of John Lennon's song, where there are no institutions or boundaries, no differences or order. "Nation-building", "peoplehood", "Pan-Africanism" and "African socialism" are concepts that require precise economic, social, political and cultural definition. Emile Durkheim developed the word

"anomie" to describe conditions of normlessness, the collapse of rules of conduct. Robert K. Merton argues that it be defined as a condition of "breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the ...capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them".<sup>34</sup> One particular way in which the individual responds to social conditions that create a conflict between ends and means is to "retreat from the struggle to get ahead".<sup>35</sup> If he rejects himself, or becomes self-alienated, and finds no coherent perspective of the world which can offer him a constructive identity in meaningful relationship with others, his creativity is dissipated and his life becomes ruled by anxiety and despair. This is the challenge the concerned educator we referred to above must face-to provide an education that will enable the white youth to complete his cultural revolution without committing psychological or physical suicide.

The clock cannot be turned back, nor should it be. The old coercive education for "social adjustment" will never again be even superficially effective. Educators, to merit the title, must catch up with the awareness level of the youth, emulate their courage and honesty, and then give of their maturity and social skills. As in the schools that Afro-American children attend, schools that serve predominantly white communities should be institutions of community service and change. They need to be places where white youth can find out what is



ailing them and then work out ways to do something about it. The difference here, however, is that the schools attended by white youth, which have always been responsible to the dictates of the dominant society, must become independent platforms of knowledge and action. The teachers, committed to the development of human potential more than to their paychecks, must have the willingness to stand behind the youth and support their efforts to free themselves of imposed aspirations and bigotries, and launch a frontal attack on the injustices perpetrated in the society. A complementary response on the part of the white community to the Afro-America liberation movement requires a militant and confirmed commitment to cultural revolution, with implications for the political, economic and social institutions of the dominant white culture. Education, to be meaningful to this generation of American youth, will have to do far more than prepare them for national citizenship in America as it is. Those of us who lived through the Cuban Missile Crisis may have gleaned the fact that this is an age which must either perish or achieve the unity of the world. America, unable to effect a real change in the relationship of the Euro-American and Afro-American cultural groups within its boundaries is surely not prepared for the sacrifice and humility necessary to achieve a peaceful international interdependence. The white American youth of today will be world citizens tomorrow. Whether or not they will be accorded an honorable

place in the record of history depends upon the willingness to co-operate with rather than dominate the other peoples of the world. They need a vision which transcends the pathetic try of current statesmanship to adjust national processes suited to the oppression of minorities and the ancient days of self-contained nations. The need to understand the urgency of change and to develop the skills and strategies which can revolutionize the communities from which they come and reshape the machinery of government according to the standards implicit in the oneness of mankind.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FOOTNOTES

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